Daily Report

Latin America

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Cuba

Commentary Says Groups Want Soviet-Style Reforms

FL0501110790 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] Soviet perestroyka and glasnost are not a universal prescription. This is what Gorbachev told us when he visited Havana last April. We absolutely agreed with the Soviet leader's view. It is clear that the measures implemented in one country cannot be implemented in another. To attempt to do such a thing, to use Fidel's words, is arbitrary, absurd, and capricious.

Nevertheless, there are many people in the world who have a very unique way of thinking. Let it be clear that we are not referring to people of lost consciousness or cheap businessmen but to people of good faith. Well, some of these honest critics reproach the revolution for not having undertaken a road of reforms as it has happened in other countries, particularly in Eastern Europe. This approach has no basis.

Cuba has an extensive reform program. Its contents is seen in the rectification process. That is, the measures the country needs are the ones being implemented. East Europe does not need our prescription, and Cuba does not need East Europe's prescriptions. What other not-so-honest critics ask and even demand are not reforms for Cuba but the reforms they would like to see. They are theoreticians of imperialism.

We respond to them very calmly that Cuba, as always, will respect each person's right to do what he believes is correct. However, invoking that same right, as Fidel has said, Cuba will never implement capitalist methods, styles, philosophies, or idiosyncracies. Socialism and capitalism are two completely different things by definition and essence. Likewise, we categorically say we only need one party, the Communist Party, to take the socialist revolution to a victorious ending.

Havana Notes Bush Statements on Panama Action

FL0601025290 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] U.S. President George Bush today admitted being slightly concerned about the fears generated in Latin America by the U.S. invasion of Panama. Nevertheless, he warned that it should be clear that this does not imply a change of policy in favor of a rational use of force. During a news conference, Bush added that the principal objective of the action was to protect the lives of U.S. citizens in Panama.

Further on News Conference

FL0601133090 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1203 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] During a news conference in Washington, President George Bush tried to justify the military action against Panama with the argument that it was to defend the lives of U.S. citizens in the isthmus. He said he will withdraw the troops as soon as possible, but he did not want to give a set date for the return of the more than 24,500 troops still in the country since the invasion. Representative Richard Gephardt said that the U.S. troops will stay at least 6 more months.

Meanwhile, Yankee troops in Panama continue executing military actions, patrolling, and they maintain control over various public organizations in the isthmian capital.

It was also reported that the head of the Spanish Government, Felipe Gonzalez, during a telephone conversation with George Bush reiterated Spain's position, which is in opposition to the Yankee occupation in Panama.

The government that has been imposed in Panama has announced the retirement of 42 officers and 32 other members of the Defense Forces at the same time that it stripped General Manuel Antonio Noriega of all his military ranks.

Exiled leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Party have said that Yankee troops are trying to maintain a climate of terror and distrust in the isthmian country, as well as carrying out a psychological war against the population to which the troops demand that they cooperate with the occupation. Meanwhile, General Noriega is in Miami waiting for a trial, and several nations continue their repudiation of the U.S. attack against Panama. The Bolivian Government and important personalities of that country, as well as the Panamanian communists, and the [word indistinct] have condemned the invasion and have demanded the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Official Discusses Arrest by U.S. Soldiers

PA0801024890 Havana International Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Telephone interview with Foreign Ministry official Victor Fernandez Gonzalez by Nancy Lopez; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Lopez] We are talking to Victor Fernandez Gonzalez, Cuban Foreign Ministry [MINREX] official who was working temporarily at the Cuban Embassy in Panama City at the time of the U.S. invasion of that isthmian nation. Victor, we would like you to tell us about those days in Panama.

[Fernandez] When the U.S. invasion was launched early on the morning of 20 December, we, the comrades who were in transit, went to the embassy to receive orders.

We all occupied our positions and carried out the duties assigned by the Cuban mission directorate, that is, the ambassador and the consul. We were involved in those activities until we came back home. The other comrades stayed in Panama doing all the work; they now have more work because there are fewer of us over there now.

[Lopez] As we said, you were in transit in Panama. Where were you coming from?

[Fernandez] Yes, I was in transit. I am a MINREX official, and I was there to carry out some activities that are part of my job. I was scheduled to be at the embassy in Panama City for approximately 20 days.

[Lopez] And the Cuban Embassy was surrounded by the U.S. troops?

[Fernandez] If I remember correctly, we were first surrounded on 21 December at approximately 0900 or 1000. We were surrounded by armored personnel carriers, armored vehicles, and soldiers in combat gear carrying all types of weapons. This has already been reported by the press.

[Lopez] For the past few days there have been several acts of provocation against Cuban Embassy personnel in Panama. What can you tell us about that?

[Fernandez] First, the first secretary of the mission was arrested, and then the second secretary of the mission was arrested. Yesterday, when we were getting ready to return to Havana, getting ready to leave the residence, I was separated from the group and was put in a military vehicle. They asked me questions about the whole situation. I was arrested and never told why I was being arrested. After they checked my passport and saw that I had a diplomatic passport and visa, and after the embassy adviser told them that I was a MINREX official and talked to them about all the violations being committed—there were no language problems since there were Latin American soldiers present who can understand Spanish perfectly—they released me. There was no doubt about who I was. I was held for approximately 2 and ½ hours.

[Lopez] We would like you to be more specific. Were you arrested in front of the embassy?

[Fernandez] No. In front of the ambassador's residence. All they said was: The man who carries this passport cannot leave. I was separated from the group of comrades who could leave and taken away in a military vehicle. The soldiers loaded their rifles, and there were some eight or nine soldiers in the vehicle. The military vehicle drove away, and I was taken to the cavalry headquarters. The soldiers were always there. They were told that they were violating my human and diplomatic rights. They asked me several questions.

On several occasions I told them that I wanted to call the ambassador, that I wanted to call the embassy. I also told them that I wanted them to tell me why I was being arrested. All they told me was: We are soldiers, and we follow orders.

[Lopez] What kind of questions did they ask you?

[Fernandez] According to what they told the embassy, they mistook me for a former Panama Defense Forces chief who has the same name and looks like me. Had this been true, then their questions should have been about this, but all I was asked was what kind of information I had, where I was going, and what I was doing at the embassy. These questions have nothing to do with the excuse they gave the embassy.

From the cavalry headquarters, I was taken in the same vehicle to a place near the headquarters. We switched vehicles, I was put into a jeep, and after driving around for some time they dropped me off in front of the embassy. I was arrested at approximately 1000 in front of the residence and dropped off at 1230 in front of the Cuban Embassy.

When I was dropped off there were some Cuban Embassy officials present. There were also other persons, I believe U.S. Embassy personnel. However, at no moment was I told why I was arrested.

[Lopez] What about the departure? Did our plane have any problems landing in Panama and departing on time?

[Fernandez] When we got to the airport we were told to put our luggage on the sidewalk. The diplomats were asked to take their luggage to the diplomatic room. We were then asked to move away from the luggage. This is a violation because we have diplomatic immunity, and we had been duly identified. Policemen with dogs then went over our luggage. They said they were looking for drugs, explosives, etcetera. After that, we were told to go through immigration, and we were then taken to the General Omar Torrijos Airport protocol room. I do not know what happened to the comrades who did not have diplomatic passports.

When the plane was ready to depart, we were told we could go. At that time they again violated our diplomatic immunity. They put our luggage through the x-ray machine.

[Lopez] You were in contact with all our comrades at the embassy. How did they behave? We know there were women there.

[Fernandez] The most outstanding thing was the way the children behaved. Our comrades were determined not to let them pass. In other words, we were determined to die inside the embassy, no matter what. They could enter, but once inside, they would not be able to get out, and we were not going to leave. All in all, I believe that the children behaved their best. Although children are normally playful, they were very organized and under protection at all times. We must stress the way in which the children behaved at all times, how they responded to the calls, and how they organized themselves. They reacted

like men to the situation, and they were in real danger, as they could not defend themselves.

[Lopez] What about the women?

[Fernandez] The women behaved the same way. They helped us. They even argued with us sometimes when they saw us washing our clothes and that sort of thing. They said: No, no, you don't have to do that, we will do it for you. We must recognize the support we received from our female comrades as well as the cheerfulness that prevailed inside the embassy despite the seriousness of the situation.

[Lopez] Tell us about the food situation and the other needs of the personnel.

[Fernandez] There were some limitations at the beginning that were resolved later on, so the situation was not critical. As I said, at first we had some limitations, but we managed to solve the problem, and we can say that the situation was good.

[Lopez] What is the situation of the Cuban officials who are still in Panama?

[Fernandez] I believe that the situation is difficult, because there is a group of comrades there—I cannot remember the exact number—facing the same situation we did. The situation is not over; it remains the same. They are still surrounded. The troops may have moved 3 meters back, but they are still surrounded with all the danger that this represents. Up to the moment when I left there was a tank posted 30 meters away from the residence pointing at the door. The residence is surrounded by soldiers with machineguns and rifles with telescopic sights. At least up to 1005 or 1010 yesterday morning that was what I saw.

[Lopez] So the situation is still very difficult?

[Fernandez] Yes, the situation is extremely difficult in view of what may happen...[changes thought] what this could mean.

Nonrecognition of Endara Government Reiterated

FL0501193390 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Excerpts] A group of nondiplomat Cubans returned to our country from Panama in the last few hours. They were welcomed at Rancho Boyeros international airport by the members of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Politburo; Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice president of the Councils of State and Ministers; and Jorge Risquet Valdes, secretary of the PCC Central Committee. [passage omitted includes comments by children and women returning from Panama]

Carlos Rafael Rodriguez has reiterated to the press that the Cuban Government does not recognize any legitimacy to Guillermo Endara's so-called government imposed by the U.S. invader troops. The vice president of the Councils of State and Ministers added that U.S. pressures on the Cuban Embassy in Panama continue. Finally, the Cuban leader stressed that our country supports the Panamanian people as it has supported other peoples in the struggle to rescue their independence and sovereignty.

Captain Raul Reyes, pilot of the Cubana Airlines IL-62 M plane, in which the group of nondiplomat Cubans traveled from the isthmian nation, said the aircraft was surrounded at the Panama City airport by U.S. military forces in open violation of international agreements that protect civil aircraft.

Panamanian Foreign Minister Cited on Safe-Conducts

FL0501153990 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1448 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Telephone report by correspondent Nelson Notario Castro from Panama during the "Hot off the Press" section of "Morning Magazine" program—live]

[Text] Foreign Minister Linares—new Panamanian Foreign Minister Julio Linares—has said he has sent to the Ministry of Government and Justice the list of the Panamanian people who are exiled at Cuban diplomatic facilities. According to the foreign minister, the Panamanian Government and Justice Ministry should determine who is going to be granted the appropriate safe-conducts so that they can leave the isthmian country and go to Cuba.

The truth of the matter is that nothing has been said why this had not been done earlier. A Cubana Airlines plane was here yesterday. The authorities knew that the Cubana airliner was arriving yesterday. Had the paperwork been prepared earlier, they could have been able to leave. In addition, it is very difficult.... [changes thought] The things that need to be done to get a commercial airliner into Panamanian airspace are truly exhausting. Cubana Airlines is not an exception. All airlines have the same problems. It is because this is an occupied country which was military invaded by the United States. Airspace is considered a war zone, a zone of operation for U.S. military planes, helicopters, and large transport planes. Apparently, the runways at the Omar Torrijos Airport in Tocumen are being used for some military operations. Of course, all this hinders the normal flow of passengers. This is the situation. In addition, the airport continues to be militarily occupied.

Many procedures have to be followed with the airport management, civil aeronautics, and the Southern Command—the U.S. military command, which is the one that makes the final decision of the arrival and departure of flights. Without it, nothing can be solved.

I was saying that the Cuban plane came here yesterday and the Panamanians did not have safe-conducts. Had they had safe-conducts, they would have left yesterday. This is clear. They are at the Cuban diplomatic facilities.

Mr Linares did not say why the procedures were not followed earlier. When asked about the figures, Mr Linares gave two figures—two approximate figures—but with a difference of 10 people. He said: Some twenty and some thirty people. That is, there was a difference of 10 people.

Another important subject here is the disappearance of Mauro Murillo, secretary general of the Panamanian Workers Federation. Mauro Murillo was detained by U.S. occupation troops approximately a week ago at the installations of the strategic National Institute of Telecommunications, the INTEL. Before he was secretary general of the Panamanian Workers Federation, Mr Murillo was secretary general of the union of the INTEL workers and officials. He was detained by U.S. troops in the area were INTEL is located and his whereabouts are not known.

The situation around the Cuban Embassy and the residence of Ambassador Lazaro Mora remains calm.

Radio Coverage of Action in Panama

FL0501040090 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0002 GMT 31 Dec 89

[From the "Exclusivo" program, hosted by Juan Carlos Roque Garcia]

[Text] [Roque Garcia] In view of the Yankee invasion of Panama, Radio Rebelde once again returned dressed as a guerrilla. I now present the protagonists of a great battle for solidarity.

[Begin recording] [Daniel Torres, regular host of "Exclusivo" program] This is Radio Rebelde and its large national network with its supplemental "Exclusivo" program on the regular frequencies of 710, 670, and 1040 kHz for the entire national territory of Cuba and beyond its borders, and entering like a cannon on 5025 kHz. [March music is played in the background while Torres speaks]

[First unidentified speaker] From free Cuba, Radio Rebelde is entering like a canon. [Sound of cannon fire and a march is heard in the background]

[Torres] The war for the independence of a useful people and for the decorum of the men who have been offended is a sacred war and the creation of the free people with which the war is won is a universal service—Jose Marti.]

[Roque Garcia] I think that our director, Pedro Rojas, is well-qualified to give an assessment of what these days of Radio Rebelde broadcasting have meant in reference to the situation in Panama.

[Rojas] Well Juan Carlos, I think, first, that because of the crafty blow of the U.S. troops in Panama and because the events were unexpected, Radio Rebelde was able to demonstrate to others and to itself all the capabilities it has to practice journalism under any circumstance. In the very brief period of time in which the events occurred, the radio station's journalists and technical personnel immediately responded to the circumstances and, in a short time, they were able to plan programs that guaranteed the information required by the people.

[Begin recording] [Second unidentified speaker] One must see what has been accomplished over long periods of struggle. One must feel the presence of those who gave up their lives for the things that exist today. These are reasons to love and defend our project of socialism even more with the strength of an anthem. [Piano can be heard playing the 26 July anthem in the background]

[Alberto D. Perez] We will remain here all day on Radio Rebelde with a special broadcast in view of the events occurring in Panama City. We now have a report with Comrade Perla Marina Alcover, who is in the news room.

[Marina Alcover] Thank you Alberto. World repercussions, world condemnation continues.... [Marina Alcover's voice fades into the background] [end recording]

[Roque Garcia] Alberto D. Perez, journalist from the Radio Rebelde news service and current director of the "Haciendo Radio" program was responsible for the first day of the broadcasts on the situation in Panama.

During the initial moments, what decisions did you have to make in this situation?

[Perez] I get up very early, at 0330. I check several radio stations—something that I always do to come prepared—and I learned that the aggression was in progress. I came to Radio Rebelde and the first thing I proposed was for our monitoring services to gather information from Panama City radio stations and to immediately call Nelson Notario Castro [special Cuban correspondent in Panama City] The "Haciendo Radio" staff began working on this news, which was dramatic, albeit expected, because a brother country was being attacked. The drama of the shark trying to swallow the small sardine of Latin America was being repeated. [Recorded music is played in the background]

[Perez] We were able to make contact—and I think it was a tremendous coup—with Panama's national radio. We began to rebroadcast Radio Nacional de Panama and everything that was said on that network of dignity and resistance.

[Roque Garcia] It was simultaneous, right?

[Perez] Right. "Haciendo Radio" became the spokesman for Radio Nacional de Panama. Our objective was not just to broadcast to listeners in the Cuban archipelago. We also wanted our program to reach other peoples who are near this area, perhaps in Central America and the Caribbean, who also listen to Radio Rebelde and who can hear from our antennas what was being said by the defenders of Panama's dignity.

[Begin recording] [Third unidentified speaker] This is the network of the national resistance. For Panama: Life! Bogota, Colombia.... [speaker's voice fades into the background] [end recording]

[Perez] I think that this was decisive for us because we not only gave information to the people on how events were unfolding in Panama in a very direct way through the Panamanian announcers and journalists themselves, but when Radio Nacional de Panama was silenced by the U.S. attack, we were also able to repeat the voice of Radio Nacional de Panama —thanks to the recordings we now had of these broadcasts—which the Yankees silenced.

[Begin recording] [Torres] We now present Cubans and Panamanians, Cubans and Latin Americans, Cubans and Caribbeans through our international waves in historic testimony. We present the final moments of Radio Nacional de Panama just before it was destroyed:

[Fourth unidentified speaker] For Panama: Life!

Paris, 20 December—The U.S. intervention in Panama is against all the principles of human rights and the rights of the peoples, said.... [speaker's voice fades into the background] [end recording]

[Roque Garcia] What do you think was the most important moment of Radio Rebelde's broadcasting?

[Perez] The most important moment to me, Juan Carlos, was this opportunity to carry the voice of Panama's resistance, to make it accessible to everyone, as well as making the Cuban people's opinion available to everyone. The Cuban people responded. Let me tell you, Juan Carlos, as soon as we began to give the news on Panama, as soon as Nelson called, as soon as we began to broadcast, the phones rang off the hook. All the resources we have here were kept busy. We even were not able to make other calls because the people were expressing their indignation. It seems to me that the indignation of the Cuban people and the chance we had to express it on the one hand, and the opportunity we had on the other hand to convey through our antennas the heroic struggle of the Panamanian people were two truly unforgettable things.

[Begin recording] [Fifth unidentified speaker] Students of the Jorge Dimitrov preuniversity center in Caimito repudiate the barbarous act of the U.S. Government. The workers of the forestry enterprise in Villa Clara, the workers of the fishing enterprise in Villa Clara, the Cienfuegos sports sector all repudiate the act. [end recording]

[Roque Garcia] Comrade Josefa Bracero Torres, vice president of the Cuban Institute of Radio and Television, ICRT, also joined the great battle for solidarity in her role as announcer for "Haciendo Radio."

[Begin recording] [Perez] During this special broadcast of "Haciendo Radio," I have the honor of sharing this program with Comrade Josefa Bracero. Josefa?

[Bracero Torres] Well, Alberto, I would say that the pleasure has been mine since "Haciendo Radio" has given me the opportunity to share microphones with you, as well as with the journalists, announcers, and technicians of Radio Rebelde who, along with Radio Havana Cuba, have been doing work that is unprecedented in Cuban radio. That is why today, when I say goodbye to Radio Rebelde's listeners, I would also like to unite my voice with the voices of everyone else to say: Gringos, assassins, get out of Panama!

[Perez] Radio Rebelde will preempt its regular programming this afternoon for a comprehensive newscast with the participation of Radio Nacional de Panama and its large network against the U.S. aggression. We are on top of all the events related to this aggression. We are also on top of the repercussions it has had on our country and abroad. Continue to call us at 32-76-00 and continue listening to Radio Rebelde. Rebelde, Havana. [end recording]

[Roque Garcia] Daniel Torres was involved in the special program that began at 0500 with the regular "Haciendo Radio" program, which was later extended, as Alberto D. Perez said. Daniel's supplemental "Exclusivo" program began at 1330 on each day of special broadcasting. Daniel, what do you remember about these days?

[Torres] They were very intense days of extraordinary work. You just mentioned that we were on the air as of 1330. The important thing is the way in which we responded to this situation. Everything was totally improvised and the work was attacked with an attitude of combativeness by the journalists, of which you were one, which I think is very significant because an enormous sense of closeness was felt. No one asked how long this would take. The people felt, above all, indignant over the U.S. aggression against Panama and they knew our people required information with extra details, to say it in the words of the "Exclusivo" newscast. We tried to rise to the occasion.

[Begin recording] [Torres] Well friends, I'm trying to make contact with the National Division and we may make contact within the next few seconds. I have heard that our comrade, Carlos Santana Ojeda, has a live interview direct from Panama with a citizen, a comrade from Panama. Our journalist is speaking via telephone with this Panamanian citizen, who is giving us information on what she thinks of the U.S. military aggression in Panama.

[Announcer Manolo Ortega] The Yankees fear getting bogged down in Panama. They fear the compatriots who are now organizing in the interior of the country and in the woody and mountain areas to continue the war of resistance. [March music follows] [end recording]

[Torres] I think it has been a challenge for Cuban radio because there has never been any precedent for such a long program without the use of music, without the use of other resources and other embellishments within the

program. I should mention that in my case—and in the case of Alberto D. Perez's "Haciendo Radio" program—my "Exclusivo" program was comprised only of news from 1330 to 2000, only news, interviews, commentaries, everything was live, and everything was done with the greatest amount of haste. There was a constant search for news. It was presented in a mobilizing tone, in a tone of exhortation. We even began to broadcast on another band [corrects himself] on another frequency, that of 1040 kHz. When the United States tried to hinder our broadcasts on the 710 and 670 frequencies, Cuba decided to use the other frequency of 1040. Radio Rebelde was being heard on AM and on shortwave, the 60-meter band.

[Begin recording] [First unidentified speaker] From free Cuba, Radio Rebelde is entering like a canon. [Sound of cannon fire and a march is heard in the background]

[Torres] We became aware that Radio Rebelde could be heard in Panama. We thought we could become—and I think we accomplished this because we got telephone calls from Panama saying they could hear us—the voice of Panama's resistance, the one that the Yankees silenced there with their bombs. We could become the voice of that resistance from here. I think we accomplished this. During these 5 days of broadcasting, many people contacted the Radio Rebelde station from Panama and from other locations in Latin America telling us that the radio was not only silenced in Panama; it was also silenced in other Latin American countries where the media is in the hands of the enemy or, in some cases, the commercial sector forced radio stations to distort the truth in Panama. We became a source of reliable information.

[Begin recording] [Sixth unidentified speaker] We have been hearing on Radio Rebelde and Radio Havana Cuba about all the demonstrations in front of the U.S. Interests Section. We very much appreciate all those demonstrations and all the interviews you have had with different people throughout the world. Once again, thank you for letting me speak to the Cuban people through Radio Rebelde. On this occasion, I want to send special greetings to the Cuban teachers on Teachers' Day. My children were educated in Cuba and they had magnificent teachers. Rebelde, Havana.

[Seventh unidentified speaker] We have had the opportunity to learn of the events in Panama through the Radio Rebelde broadcasts which can also be heard in Puerto Rico. Thanks to that information, we learned of some things that were kept from the news services here in Puerto Rico. There is a total blackout on the news because the United States wants their justifications for this invasion to prevail. It has been through your media, specifically Radio Rebelde, that we have been able to learn of the barbaric acts that the U.S. Army has committed against Panama's people, youths, and civilians, who were massacred, and of their manipulation of information on capitalist media. [end recording]

[Torres] This required that we not only provide information to our people, but it required that our focus on the information be more complete, more universal, and, above all, more mobilizing so that the people of Panama would know that we supported them and that the world was also on their side. This required us to emphasize the tone of the news.

Another area in which I think Cuban Radio has taken a big step in recent times in regard to information is that Cuban television had to broadcast the radio services. A camera was placed in the "Exclusivo" booth and "Exclusivo" would broadcast for Cuban television. I think that this process of broadcasting radio over television, in view of the immediate urgency of the news, speaks highly of our position, our work which substituted words for what a camera could do. I think that this is very important.

[Begin recording] [Torres] Friends, we are now going to radio-link Cuban television and its comrade channel [Radio Rebelde]. We are now broadcasting for Cuban television's Channel Two on its special magazine program ["Revista de la Tarde"—Afternoon Magazine]. [patriotic music can be heard in the background]

We have first hand reports for Cuban television and its comrade channel on the special magazine program and on all of Radio Rebelde within our borders on frequencies 710, 670, and 1040 kHz, and beyond our borders on the tropical band of 60 meters on 5025 kHz. I would like to inform you that new U.S. reinforcements have departed to join the close to 30,000 troops that.... [voice fades into the background] [end recording]

[Torres] Television, as another very important vehicle in reference to the orientation of our people, joined us. We also joined television, using television resources in many cases to give much more extensive information.

[Roque Garcia] Since we are talking about this cooperation between Radio Rebelde and the Cuban television news services, we will take the opportunity to speak with ICRT Vice President Robaldo Diaz. We would like him to give an assessment of the days we worked together.

[Diaz] Radio Rebelde and the news services of Cuban television became one when broadcasting the necessary information to our people. It seems to me that each day of cooperation between radio and television through the news services of television, Radio Rebelde, Radio Havana Cuba, and other national radio stations should increase because in the end, radio and television journalism is what interests our people in a very significant manner.

[Begin recording] [Torres] Well, Resillez [television announcer Antonio Resillez] I would like to contact you again, if possible, when we have this Panamanian woman on the telephone so that the interview can be simultaneously broadcast on the frequencies of Cuban television and Radio Rebelde so that you can hear, not see, but hear a singularly exceptional account. That is all

for my part. Friends, it is exactly.... [voice fades into the background] [end recording]

[Roque Garcia] Daniel, I think that added to this was the extensive cooperation of television with Radio Rebelde because the television correspondent, Comrade Nelson Notario Castro, kept us constantly informed of the situation in Panama.

[Torres] I think that this was also an experience for us, especially under the conditions in which we were working.

[Begin recording] [Notario Castro] No Panamanian radio station is on the air today. There is only one radio station that broadcasts on 102.5 MHz on the FM frequency, which is not always on the air. It identifies itself as Radio Liberacion. Radio Liberacion is the patriotic voice that is on the air sporadically. As time passes, the world rejects the intervention. Many countries are now watching and they are worried that Panama's luck today could be their's tomorrow. [end recording]

[Roque Garica] Marta Varez, deputy director of the Radio Rebelde news services, what have these days of broadcasting on the Panama situation meant to you?

[Varez] I think that these broadcasts had many important moments. The first one was the opportunity to do this type of work which required much personal effort on the part of the entire collective of Radio Rebelde workers. It made us all work a little harder to put together a very special program without losing the pace, freshness, and characteristics of Radio Rebelde.

I was personally very impressed when we were first able to speak with a doctor from the Santo Tomas Hospital. While you were preparing in your booth to interview him live, I was asking him about the situation in Panama. At a certain point, he told me that the Yankee soldiers had just burst into the hospital. He told me that he was about 80 meters from the soldiers.

[Begin recording] [Roque Garcia] I understand the U.S. troops are very close to the hospital.

[Doctor] They are now in the hospital.

[Roque Garcia] They are in the hospital?

[Doctor] They are in the hospital. We do not have any buildings here that belong to the military. Under the pretext of enclosing the military part, they crossed over the hospital fence and entered the hospital. There is a Red Cross contingent here that is holding talks with them but these gentlemen do not believe in the Red Cross or anything else.

[Roque Garcia] Do you mean that they have not listened to the requests made by the Panamanian Red Cross?

[Doctor] They are in the hospital and we have Red Cross officials here who are speaking with them. They are in the hospital with firearms and with combat equipment. [end recording]

[Varez] I once again became aware of the importance of radio, radio work, Cuban radio, especially that of Radio Rebelde, because it is as if we ourselves were 80 meters from those Yankees looking for information for our people and the Panamanian people. [march music is played]

[Begin recording] [First unidentified speaker] From free Cuba, Radio Rebelde is entering like a canon. [Sound of cannon fire and a march is heard in the background] [end recording]

[Roque Garcia] Ismael Ransoli, program director and propaganda writer, is also here at Radio Rebelde. He is the principle author of all the artistic elements, as they can be called, that were incorporated into the Radio Rebelde broadcasts during the days in which the Panamanian people were defending their sovereignty. How did you become involved in all those elements?

[Ransoli] I felt very strongly about my work. I became aware of the importance of the time in which we were living. I have always felt useful but there are times when the circumstances of life, the historic circumstances make one feel heavier with more responsibility. It makes one feel fulfilled, more patriotic. During the days in which the Yankee action occurred in Panama, I became aware of the world-wide importance—I do not think this is an exaggeration—of the work all of us did on this. In this sense, I can say that my work grew. My inspiration grew. My enthusiasm to work grew. I told a comrade that in the middle of a broadcast, when we were in the middle of the battle of the airwaves, I felt willing to broadcast 24 hours without stopping. I did not feel hungry or tired. I felt great pride, great satisfaction. I felt like I was doing something. I felt like a revolutionary that completely identified with the cause we were defending.

[Begin recording] [Second unidentified speaker] One must see what has been accomplished over long periods of struggle. One must feel the presence of those who gave up their lives for the things that exist today. These are reasons to love and defend our project of socialism even more with the strength of an anthem. [Piano can be heard playing the 26 July anthem in the background] [end recording]

[Ransoli] I must mention that the artistic elements that were incorporated into the programming grew in proportion to the attention the programming received. [March and patriotic music are played in the background]

[Begin recording] [Torres] Telegrams, letters, and all sorts of communications continue to arrive, friends, in which the Cuban people express their solidarity with the Panamanian cause and condemn the criminal U.S. military intervention in Panama. [end recording]

[Ransoli] I had to be careful to not reiterate, to not repeat too much of the same elements that characterize our newscast. The thing that helped me in this work was that the objective was a very well-defined broadcast with a content that was patriotic, internationalist, and an expression of moral support for the comrades who fought in Panama. For example, almost all the messages that were directly aimed at mobilizing the Panamanian masses were supported by the "Guerrillero" anthem.

[Torres] ["Guerrillero" anthem is played while announcer speaks] The war for the independence of a useful people and for the decorum of the men who have been offended is a sacred war and the creation of the free people with which the war is won is a universal service—Jose Marti. [end recording]

[Roque Garcia] I now want to speak with Alberto Fernandez. In this case, Alberto was responsible for the special programming on Panama from 2000 to 2400. It was demonstrated once again that Radio Rebelde works in an integral manner. Everyone participated in this programming. Alberto, you certainly had many experiences during these days and I would like you to describe them to the people listening to you now.

[Fernandez] We have continued the work of those who were in the Sierra Maestra. When I was working at night, I thought about Che. I thought about many comrades who worked on the founding of the Sierra Maestra, on keeping our people informed on what was going on in the war to liberate our country. This brought to mind how many listeners in Panama and in Cuba were being kept informed. This was a very beautiful experience for me because it demonstrates what the radio is capable of doing. It demonstrates what is possible in times of war and peace. It shows what we are able to do, to keep our people informed and to keep the people beyond our borders informed.

[Roque Garcia] Alberto, a few days ago, we were visited by three of the founders of Radio Rebelde: Orestes Valera, Ricardo Martinez, and Jorge Enrique Mendoza. Enrique Mendoza mentioned the role played by Radio Rebelde.

[Fernandez] We think that Radio Rebelde is playing a momentous role and we think it fulfilled its duty by continuing the broadcasts that a group of comrades made 30 years ago in the Sierra Maestra on Radio Rebelde when it was the official organ of the 26 July Movement and the Rebel Army.

[Begin recording] [Eighth unidentified speaker] Here is Radio Rebelde from the free territory of Cuba.

[Ninth unidentified speaker] That is how we were born. That is how we are. During all hours of the day and keeping pace with life—Rebelde!

[Tenth unidentified speaker] Attention column two, column two, column two. Camilo, this is Che. Camilo this is Che. [end recording]

[Roque Garcia] You shared this segment with announcer Franco Carbon. What was the most significant moment during those broadcast days?

[Fernandez] There were many significant moments. I could mention the remarks made by our commander in chief, Fidel Castro, in the Sports City when he discussed the events in Panama, the new imperialist aggression. It was very moving for all the ICRT workers in general, not just the workers of Radio Rebelde, when he mentioned the colleagues of Radio Havana Cuba and he mentioned us and the informational work these two radio stations were doing for Cuba and for people abroad.

[Begin recording] [Cuban President Fidel Castro] The Panamanians have also been listening to international radio. They have been listening to Cuban radio, Radio Havana Cuba, Radio Rebelde, and other stations. These stations had a lot of contact with Panama yesterday. They kept the people informed of what was happening. These stations today continued informing the people while the Yankees tried to intercept the broadcasts. They tried to interfere with the broadcasts because they did not want the Panamanian people to find out what was happening from Cuban radio. ["Guerrillero" march played] [end recording]

[Roque Garcia] I think that another important factor was the simultaneous broadcasts Radio Rebelde held with Radio Havana Cuba.

[Fernandez] This has also demonstrated the strength of Cuban radio broadcasting. We have a medium-wave radio station that is not only capable of reaching all the Cuban people, it can even reach other countries. We were joined by that very important radio station, Radio Havana Cuba, which has enormous broadcast power. The work was coordinated, not just when we went on the air in network, but also when we broadcast information between the two radio stations on shortwave and medium-wave frequencies. This was a decisive factor.

[Begin recording] [Torres] Friends, during this joint Radio Havana Cuba and Radio Rebelde program, I would like to briefly speak with my fraternal colleague, Comrade Pedro Martinez Pirez, so that we can go into network with you.

[Martinez Pirez] Daniel, I am not the only one who has been listening to you. All the listeners of Radio Havana Cuba have heard you as they received the signal from Radio Rebelde. They heard the international news, as well as the growing solidarity of the Cuban people with the brother people of Panama. As of 1730, Havana time, Radio Havana Cuba is the main station. [end recording]

[Torres] This was a new experience, Juan Carlos. It was a novel and very productive experience. It was an experience that could be a model for future broadcasts. I think that it was a beautiful experience to work in union with Radio Havana Cuba, something we had never done before. No national radio station had ever done this kind of exchange with Radio Havana Cuba so extensively,

with so much follow up. We cooperated in this. At one point, Radio Rebelde was the main station when we were in network broadcasting to North, Central, and South America. This was also an experience for us. Above all, the conditions under which we worked were a new experience.

[Fernandez] Another very interesting, important thing that demonstrates the informational quality, the technical quality of the radio station is that without calling anyone, the comrades began to arrive shortly after the radio station was placed on a state of virtual war. Journalists and technicians arrived and the news room was full. Every inch of the radio station was full of comrades who, without having been called, came in because they knew that something was going on that would alter the normal broadcasts of the radio station. They summoned themselves and came to the station. We began to reorganize and modify our broadcasts.

[Begin recording] [Torres] I have made contact with communicator Fran Diaz Doniquian from Radio Rebelde's radio and satellite monitoring department. Go ahead Fran.

[Diaz Doniquian] Greetings. In the afternoon, I heard a commentary on Radio Nacional de Rio de Janeiro which says that with the invasion of Panama, the U.S. Government is making a [word indistinct] case of the changes that are currently occurring internationally. Can you hear me?

[Torres] Yes, we can hear you.

[Diaz Doniquian] The moment could not have been more inappropriate. The U.S. action reflects a completely archaic policy. Washington has always felt.... [voice fades into the background] [end recording]

[Fernandez] Franco Carbon was the announcer from 2000 to 2400 during the special Radio Rebelde programming on the situation in Panama. We knew the special programming was being received in Cuba and that it was entering like a canon in Panama.

[Torres] I was involved in Rebelde's informational work, which was very important. I received all the news. The work was very important but there was a moment during all those broadcasts when you spoke with a doctor from the Santo Tomas hospital, the most important hospital in Panama. He told you that the Yankee troops were in the hospital. The man spoke bravely and naturally and he spoke to us from the Panamanian hospital about his position and thoughts. Something that surprised me was that you played him a segment of a speech made by our commander in chief and he received it through normal international telephone lines, which could go down.

[Begin recording] [Castro] We have expressed our willingness to cooperate. We are willing to send plasma, doctors, equipment, surgeons, as we have done many times during the revolution. We are willing to assist the injured Panamanians because the Yankee troops do not want the injured Panamanians to be assisted.

[Fernandez] Well, doctor, you have heard a segment of the speech made last night by our commander in chief in which he mentions our country's willingness to help the Panamanian people in this very difficult situation. However, we have not yet received a response from the international organizations because our country's medical assistance to Panama is prohibited. Can you still hear me, Doctor?

[Doctor] Yes, I hear you very clearly.

[Fernandez] Were you able to hear the remarks made by our commander?

[Doctor] Of course, I heard them very well. They were perfect.

[Fernandez] I suggest you inform the medical personnel of the Santo Tomas hospital of Fidel's remarks and express to them our consideration and willingness, as the commander in chief himself said, to send Cuban medical assistance as soon as possible.

[Doctor] Yes. We enormously appreciate this. We thank the commander in chief and the Cuban people from the bottom of hearts for their offer. [end recording]

[Torres] Because of its spontaneity, it was a very moving moment. He was very appreciative after he heard that segment of the speech. You could hear the bombs where he was. You could hear the U.S. cannons invading his territory and you could hear how that man maintained his senses. I think that it helped to receive that message and for which he expressed his appreciation. That was one of the most important moments for me. The work in general, the fact that you asked this doctor to give the brother Panamanian people, his comrades, this message from the commander in chief was the highlight of the broadcasts.

[Begin recording] We now express the feelings of our people. Belkis Joglar is in Mobil Unit No 2. Belkis?

[Joglar] We are here in front of the U.S. Interests Section under a heavy rain. We are all soaked but the people are generating a great warmth.... [voice fades into the background] [end recording]

[Roque Garcia] Someone here was saying that the journalists had confronted this mission and had done their best during the broadcasts. Belkis Joglar also had some very beautiful moments during the special programming. Is that right?

[Joglar] Yes, that is the way it was for all of us. As Daniel said, there was a lot of improvisation and it was done well. You know that I am a reporter but I do a lot of writing for radio. Nevertheless, it was difficult for me to do live reporting from a mobile unit. This was the greatest experience for me. At that moment, the heart of our America was injured. We had to forget what we liked

to do and do anything that needed doing, as all the comrades of Radio Rebelde did here.

[Roque Garcia] I remember there was a broadcast in front of the U.S. Interests Section where you interviewed Zuri [no further identification given] in the rain.

[Begin recording] [Joglar] Don't go. I want you to tell our listeners what is happening here with your own brilliant words.

[Zuri] There is a torrential rain and, normally, this would take away from a ceremony, but that is not the case. From where I stand, I can see the bright banners. I can see that the people have a bright look on their faces. They have a bright look on their faces that says a thousand words. There are....

[Joglar, interrupting] The rain is heavy. We are soaked but we are not cold.

[Zuri] No, we are not cold because there is a lot of warmth in our hearts for the people who are fighting and because the solidarity we feel is like a flame that consumes us and makes us glow for the dignity of America.

Well, Franco Carbon, you have just heard the feelings of our people, the pride that we feel here. We feel good. We do not want to leave. Until next time.... [voice fades into the background] [end recording]

[Joglar] That was a beautiful moment. We were soaked. Everybody was drenched. Everything was wet—the microphone, the mobile, everything—but no one left. That was one of the most beautiful interviews I had among all the beautiful interviews done by the Radio Rebelde journalists. That is how it was.

Another important moment in these broadcasts, which makes it possible for us to describe them as continental broadcasts, was the participation of comrade journalists from Radio Rebelde who are in different parts of the continent.

[Begin recording] [Torres] International repercussions from the U.S. aggression against Panama has been truly monumental. In Santiago de Chile, our special correspondent, Orlando Contreras, now reports on reaction to the U.S. invasion of Panama. The radio link has now been made with Contreras somewhere in Santiago de Chile. Good evening to our fraternal colleague, Orlando Contreras.

[Contreras] Good evening, Daniel, and good evening to all our listeners within and beyond our Cuban borders on this special Radio Rebelde and Radio Havana Cuba broadcast. I can tell you that public opinion here in Chile has been demonstrated in an almost unanimous manner—I would call it unanimous—in repudiation of the U.S. aggression against Panama.

Observers say that it is normal for leftist and central parties to condemn the U.S. aggression. The observers, however, have also noted that the right-wing parties and the ones that are beyond being right-wing.... [voice fades into the background] [end recording]

[Joglar] The case is the same with Comrade Diosdado Maso who, as you know, is in Nicaragua and also actively participated in these special Radio Rebelde broadcasts of solidarity with Panama.

[Begin recording] [Torres] We have a Central American contact with our special correspondent, Diosdado Maso. You are listening to the signal from the special edition of Radio Rebelde's "Exclusivo" program in Managua, capital of free Nicaragua.

[Maso] Yes, like in Cuba, all the youths, workers, women, military members, and the people in general are repudiating the brutal U.S. aggression against Panama. I want to tell you that another incident occurred again last night around the U.S. Embassy here in Managua. The Nicaraguan Government made it very clear that.... [voice fades into the background] [end recording]

[Joglar] The Radio Rebelde correspondents in Cuba's 14 provinces and in the special municipality, Isle of Youth, also gave us the opportunity to learn how this battle for solidarity with Panama was waged throughout the country.

[Begin recording] [Eleventh unidentified speaker] We have received several messages here in the correspondence department of Radio Rebelde in Pinar del Rio. The people of Pinar del Rio express their strongest protest.... [voice fades into the background]

[Torres] Radio Rebelde is broadcasting. It was founded in the Sierra Maestra, in the highest points of our country, by the commander in chief and by the heroic guerrilla, Ernesto Che Guevara.

Friends, our next internal contact is with the Caribe-Intercosmos Division, with a 12-meter satellite dish for information. Our communicator, Maria Elena Alonso, "Poli," will give us the latest news monitored via satellite on the Panama situation. The radio link will be made immediately. Good evening.

[Alonso] A flash news item from the ABC television station in the United States quoted remarks by General Maxwell Thurman, announcing the imminent arrival in Panama of another 2,000 U.S. soldiers to reinforce the interventionist troops in Panama. General Thurman acknowledged that the Dignity Battalions are presenting a.... [voice fades into the background] [end recording]

[Joglar] Another important assessment, from a general point of view, is that this work serves as a measure for justice, a measure for the banner that Radio Rebelde and the ICRT earned for being ready for the defense. There is no question that this has been a great test of what Cuban radio can do during special times and I have no doubt that we can do this with no problem, no matter how difficult the conditions and circumstances may be.

[Torres] I have no doubt that Cuban radio, in a moment of U.S. imperialist aggression can play an important, front-line role, a vanguard role, with total effectiveness and I think that this is a test in which we emerged ready for the defense.

[Joglar] All the Radio Rebelde workers are worthy heirs of the Radio Rebelde that emerged in the Sierra Maestra and I think that we are prepared for the war of all the people, for a broadcast at a certain time when we will have to wage the war of all the people. I don't know if you feel the same.

[Roque Garcia] I feel the exact same way and I think that this has been more than an experience. It shows that we are truly prepared, as was said here by Marta Varez, Radio Rebelde Director Pedro Rojas, Daniel Torres, everyone. We have all agreed that Radio Rebelde is more than ready if the imperialists one day try to attack us.

Commentary on Open Letter Demanding Plebiscite

FL0601193090 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] The gentlemen from abroad who attempt to tell the Cuban revolution what it must or must not do in matters of domestic policy are feeling very offended. They allege that Castro's spokesmen—that is what they call us—treat them with a discourteous and even vulgar language.

Illustrious gentlemen, we have rarely heard such a lie. What is happening is that Castro's spokesmen—an honor they bestow us—use the language that is appropriate to the quality and category of the speakers who address them. And you—to put it in the terms of the poet Miguel Hernandez—are no more than fugitive shit. It is absolutely despicable to see how many among you, who call yourselves Latin Americans, have not even raised your voice to condemn the Yankee invasion and occupation of Panama. You know that no reason justifies such a crime. You know that such a misdeed flagrantly violates all norms of international law. However, you keep your miserable silence to such a crime, and instead you shout your heads off at the Cuban revolution—discrediting Cuba, slandering Cuba, distorting the Cuban reality, and even demanding plebiscites and other (?nonsense) in ridiculous open letters.

It is possible that in the forty or so that make up your group one could be mistaken. It is possible. However, if there is one thing that there is no doubt about, especially to us the Cubans, is that most of those people in the group practice the most wretched kind of servitude for the empire that buys them.

Deep down inside, the hysteria they show is no more than a consequence of the pathological hatred they have toward socialism and to the irreversible and historic fact of a socialist revolution located in this part of the world. That is why they slander and lie.

However, the results of the Cuban revolution are hidden only to those who do not want to see them. If they sing so many praises to pluralism, why do they not accept here socialism as a system?

Illustrious gentlemen, we like to practice courtesy; however, we do not feel the slightest amount of respect for you.

Soviet Military Adviser Seen Off by Fidel Castro

FL0801115890 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1130 GMT 8 Jan 90

[From the "Haciendo Radio" program]

[Text] Fidel has said farewell to Colonel General Aleksey Zaytsev at the Havana airport. Zaytsev was the main military adviser of the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces. Army General Raul Castro was also at the airport.

ANC Representative Issues Statement

FL0601023590 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] The permanent representative of the African National Congress [ANC] in Cuba today distributed a statement in Havana on the visit by South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha to Hungary. The note signed by ANC representative (Kingsley Suma) says, textually:

It is with a profound sense of betrayal that the ANC and the people of South Africa condemn the decision of the Hungarian Government to allow a visit to be made by Roelof Botha, minister of foreign affairs of racist South Africa. At a time when it is urgently necessary to isolate the Pretoria regime, whose system of apartheid has been described by the international community as a crime against humanity, it is unacceptable for Hungary to receive racist officials, especially if the purpose of such visits is to establish any type of cooperation with Pretoria.

Reports we have received indicate that one of the purposes of Botha's visit, among others, is to make arrangements to recruit Hungarian citizens. If this is true, such recruitments would be used by Pretoria to increase its strength in numbers and to shore up apartheid.

It is unfortunate that such a decision has already been made by socialist Hungary, which, up to now, has always supported in a positive manner the struggling masses of our country. We call on the conscience of the Government of Hungary. We hope that it is not too late and that Hungary will reconsider its position and be counted on the side of those who fight against oppression.

Thus ends the statement issued by the permanent representative of the ANC in Cuba.

PRC Creates Friendship With Cuba Association

FL0501205990 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2024 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] China's National People's Assembly today announced the creation of a Friendship With Cuba group, which will have the principal task of developing detente and cooperation between the two countries. Yao Guang, member of the permanent committee of the Chinese parliament and vice chairman of its foreign affairs commission, heads the new group, which also has three second vice chairmans who hold identical positions in the government body.

Mozambican Prime Minister Arrives for Visit

FL0801114690 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1126 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Report by Gisela Bel Heredia from the "Haciendo Radio" program]

[Text] During the past few hours Mozambican Prime Minister Mario Fernandez de Graca Machungo arrived in our country on a friendly visit at the invitation of the Cuban Government. The Mozambican leader was received at the Jose Marti airport by Commander of the Revolution Juan Almeida Bosque, member of the Politburo of the Communist party of Cuba and vice president of the Council of State. Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca and representatives of the African diplomatic corps accredited in our country, as well as Cuban Ambassador to Mozambique Eloy Valdes, were also present at the Havana airport to welcome the Mozambican prime minister.

Duran Lists Workers Congress Discussion Topics

FL0601031290 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] The 16th congress of the Cuban Workers Federation [CTC] will begin on 24 January with discussions in five commissions on matters pertaining to the working class. This was reported by Francisco Duran, member of the commission organizing the congress, during a news conference which was attended by journalists and press directors.

Duran also said that the commissions will discuss the attention given to youth workers, Technical Youth Brigades, National Association of Innovators and Efficiency Experts, application of science and technology, and training and retraining. He added that 1,059 delegates will participate in these discussions. One of the commissions will discuss the sugar harvest. The attention given to women workers and the defense of the socialist fatherland will be discussed separately, as well as artistic and literary creativity, the TRABAJADORES newspaper, and the foreign debt. Five hundred delegates will participate in drafting proposals on CTC operations.

The commissions' work will be analyzed and approved during a plenary meeting on 25 January. The meeting will end on 28 January with the final approval of the main report and the election of the CTC National Committee, Secretariat, and Council.

On 29-30 January, Latin American trade union leaders will meet in Havana to discuss the serious problems confronted by the working class in our continent.

Dissident Group Issues Communiques

PA0501233190 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2016 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Havana, 5 Jan (EFE)—The dissident and illegal Cuban Party for Human Rights (PPDHC) has demanded "free elections through secret and direct voting," in a communique expressing its goals. The communique was delivered to the media in Havana today.

Founded by exiled Ricardo Bofill and directed in Cuba by poet Tania Diaz, the PPDHC maintains it has the support of 10,000 followers. The party maintains it "does not aspire to power or public posts," but rather "the return of a de jure state to the country," according to the communique.

The PPDHC political plan emphasizes the need to have opposition political parties, the legalization of human rights organizations, independent labor unions, and freedom for political prisoners.

"The PPDHC understands that the changes that have taken place in European countries represent very correct steps toward democratic socialism," the document adds. The document is signed by Tania Diaz herself and by 16 other leaders of this clandestine party.

In another document issued by the same group, also released today, the PPDHC reports its reunification with another dissident organization, the Cuban Committee for Human Rights (CCPDH) which, like the PPDHC, was founded by Bofill before he went into exile.

Up until last month, the PPDHC, along with the Marti Committee for Human Rights and the Human Rights Commission of Cuba, composed the Human Rights Coordinator from which it split after Tania Diaz was released from jail in November 1989.

In a third communique, the PPDHC reports that this organization has sent an open letter to Severo Aguirre, president of the Assembly of the People's Government, stating "it is very concerned over Cuba's future."

"Cuban dissidence does not mean counterrevolution," the open letter states, because it openly expresses its ideas, as Doctor (Fidel) Castro did from a prison, which was not considered a counterrevolutionary action."

Castro Construction Workers Day Speech

FL0401170090 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1857 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Speech by President Fidel Castro Ruz on 28 December at the Antillana de Acero steel plant in Havana marking the day of the construction worker—recorded]

[Text] Comrade construction workers. I have arrived late here. That is why I was surprised not to see more speakers. [someone from crowd shouts: It is not late, commander!] I don't know; sometimes there are other things that need to be done. I can see there are no more speakers. At the other places, there were several speakers. Anyway, this is a ceremony that has been postponed twice. First it was going to be held on the first [of December], but we had the storm. Then, it was going to be held on the 22d [of December], but we had the imperialist invasion of Panama. Finally today it looks like nothing has happened and we are going to hold the ceremony.

This is part of three ceremonies. One ceremony was for the presentation of the banner to the 13 March student contingent which supported the construction of the Jose Antonio Echeverria projects [CUJAE]. This also included the completion of the Jose Antonio Echeverria University City.

Then, we had to inaugurate a project that had been finished. It was a true construction feat by the Blas Roca contingent and by a group of outstanding sugarcane manual cutters; they built the bus terminal in 4 months. It was the last one to be started and the first one to be completed. As I told them, they should also keep in mind the size of the contingent as well as its resources, means, organization, and efficiency. There is work being done on the other seven terminals, progress is being made. Some of them will be finished in January and others in the first quarter of the year. This means that around April, the last of the eight terminals will be finished. This is important to guarantee the efficiency of transportation in our city.

An now, we have this third ceremony. I would not be too concerned if we took our time, but the youths have also planned for this night a great ceremony at 1900 on 12 and 23d Streets. I would have liked for you to have time to go to the ceremony. It seems it will not be possible. However, you do have the time to make it to the party which is after the ceremony. So, that is better than nothing. This way, we did not postpone once again the ceremony we are now holding.

It seems like Havana City Province deserves to be congratulated, especially the construction workers, laborers, and the construction project leaders in the province. They earned the honor of hosting the construction workers day ceremony. They shared this honor with another province which is Camaguey, I know they have worked well. I believe this is a high honor and an important step for progress. However, this should not lead us to believe that everything is going perfectly well. This honor means progress and it is an incentive. Certainly, throughout the country during the past 2 years construction has progressed considerably. We are producing a sort of revolution within the sector. It is a decisive sector for the development of the country. If construction projects do not go well, nothing will go well. If construction does not go well, we cannot guarantee the development of the country. Construction is the most basic of all sectors of a country for its economic and social development. Without construction workers, there are no industries, factories, steel industry, cement factories, tile factories, mosaic factories, refineries, thermoelectric plants, nuclear power plants, mechanical plants, pasteurizers, cheese factories, or food industry.

Without construction workers, there are no [word indistinct], nickel factories. The Che Guevara factory, for example, would not exist. The new plant in Camarioca would not exist. There would not be expansions, or remodeling such as what we see at the refineries. There would not be new constructions like in Cienfuegos. Without construction workers, there would not be a biological industry, pharmaceutical industry, sugar plants [passage indistinct] irrigation system. Without construction workers, there would not be homes, schools, child care centers, polyclinics, hospitals, movie theaters, specialty markets, bus terminals, hotels, recreation facilities. Without construction workers, we would have primitive agriculture. It is precisely the inventions and creativity of the construction workers that creates development of intensive [as heard] agriculture. That is why I always think that without construction workers, there would be nothing. If construction fails, everything fails.

Unfortunately, at one time our country's construction sector reached a major peak when the construction brigades were created. They built thousands of schools, kilometers of roads, tens and tens of dams, livestock farms, industries, many things. But at one point, that peak began to decline. I recall that at the beginning of the revolution the most (?ignored) sector was the construction sector. It was believed that the sector took all those who had no other job alternative. I recall that in the 60s and first half of the 70s, thanks to the efforts of the revolution, a large construction increase took place in the countryside and cities. Thanks to the attention that was given to the sector, the new job of a construction worker began to be more respected and appreciated by everyone. It was under these circumstances and by looking at the progress made by the construction sector that we talked about, or mentioned the phrase: the honorable men with the white helmets.

We were able to highly industrialize the construction sector. The sector had earned great prestige, until the arrival of those times of confusion, times of copying the examples of others, times of all kinds of inventions which brought negative consequences to the sector. We had started using a remodeling method which was starting to directly affect quality, and without quality it

is not worth building anything. We were using pay methods which allowed things to be done in quantities, if they were done at all, without taking into consideration quality. We had organizational systems and ideas which took into account the values but not the completion [of projects]. We had an incentive system which led to conflicts with the interests of the country. If we only paid for digging holes and putting in columns, we would fill the country with holes and columns without finishing a single project. This was tied to erratic planning which was done by many of the theoreticians of these mistaken and copied ideas.

We began to discover problems everywhere. It was said that the system needed time to mature. Frankly, if the system and that style and ideas continued moving ahead, we would have had more than enough time for the system not to mature but to rot. The projects would take an eternity to complete. We discovered roads that were going to take tens of years to complete. I recall that one of those roads was going to take 65 years to build. It was a road with several tens of kilometers in length. One road would get 100,000 pesos, another one would get 100,000 pesos, and another would get 100,000. The same brigade, or the same group—because brigades were beginning to disappear—would work 2 months on this road, 2 months on another, and 2 months on yet another. It was total madness.

When one asked about the progress of the construction plans, the reply was that they were being completed in value but not in objective. Everything appeared to have a slight delay of 2 or 3 months to finish whatever had to be finished. But that was not the case. It was going to take years and even tens of years to complete projects. It was going to take ten years to complete a dam or a road. It was going to take 10, 12, or 15 years to build a hospital or a hotel. We began to loose construction capabilities. There was strong opposition to the minibrigades because it was an idea that was not in the books of the empty-brained theoreticians who had invented those things. Since it was not in the books, the theoreticians had to fight the idea. The minibrigades were the best way to distribute human resources, but the minibrigades were slowly eliminated. The minibrigade movement deteriorated. The number of houses that were being built declined. This was true especially in the capital where we had almost 4,000 homes; we had been increasing homes by 1,000 per year. The houses were popping-up everywhere in the Republic.

But the hope that the minibrigades once represented as a solution to this crucial problem began to disappear. The projects that were finished were not really finished. I remember when I visited the supposedly finished Santiago de Cuba distillery. Out of the 20 refrigeration units, only 1 had been completed. The shop in a plant for the production of parts was not finished. The flat roof got soaked every time it rained. The roof was an imported project and it was stupidly accepted by our own planners. [Words indistinct] flat roof, and when it rained, it rained more inside than outside. So, a roof over a roof had to be built and who knows how many tons of [word indistinct] had to be used. Only a few homes were for the workers. A housing plan for them had not been drawn up, or there was a plan that had not been fulfilled. It was necessary to begin building housing units at full speed. We needed to build 300 or 400 housing units so that today we could have approximately 2,000 homes. At the textile enterprise, not a single project had been finished.

The comprehensive development idea disappeared. Prior to the application of those other ideas, the brigades would build whenever there was a plan. Some brigades would build roads, others would build livestock farms, and others dams, irrigation canals. The brigades that would build the houses would also build the stores, schools, medical services, medical facilities or whatever, and child care centers so that women could work. We had aqueducts, sewers, streets, everything.

But then ghost towns began appearing when the other ideas started being implemented. One group would do the buildings because they had a contract with someone else. Someone else would build the street when there was a contract, if there even was anyone at all who knew how to build them, or if there was even anyone bright enough to figure out that a town needs streets. There were no aquaducts, sewers, roads, barber shops, stores, or other facilities. Everything was really disorganized in an incredible manner.

This made it necessary for us to become fully aware of the situation and rectify it. Today, we are back to the idea of the comprehensive towns. In other words, we have towns that have houses, streets, aquaducts, sewers, child care centers, schools, stores, industrial centers, family doctor homes, and recreation areas. We have plans that have people, roads, dams, minidams, canals, irrigation systems, electricity, and everything that an comprehensive really needs, the way plans in socialism should be. If this concept is not applied, there is no socialism, there is nothing. You can only have rubbish or complete trash.

The revolution had already discovered how to make comprehensive plans, such as the plans and ideas with which we work today in the development of the country. How is it possible for an industry to be developed and not a single house be built, or houses to be built but no roads?

All those things have passed. That is why a large effort was needed. The worst things used to happen in the capital. There was great disorganization. There wasn't even an authority for the construction workers in the province. The ministry had everything: cement mixers, [word indistinct], asphalt plans, truck supplies. The materials industry became the fifth wheel of the car. It had been ignored and totally forgotten. Everything was done [word indistinct]. When the party needed to talk to someone in the capital, he had to wait until the minister was available to discuss the problems of a cement mixer, street, or a brigade. A lot of construction ability was lost.

The brigades in the capital were getting full of workers from the eastern and other provinces. There are still some here. I know, they are right here. [crowd laughs] I have visited them and chatted with them, they are really nice people, but they are (?courageous) to stay here. How is it possible that the capital with 2 million people was not capable of building its own projects, buildings? The fewer [as heard] houses that were built, the more houses sprouted-up, and more workers from the eastern provinces would stay here. Thus, the capital's problems became more serious. That is what was happening. There was no work force. The province that had 800,000 workers had a large number of them in bloated personnel rosters, [word indistinct] everything all mixed, with that unfortunate idea of the specialized profile. Who knows the number of people that were needed just to do the simplest thing.

We had absurd, stupid methods which conspired against the development of the country. They conspired against the building of socialism. There was not a single chief of construction for all that. The minister would be touring our provinces, or on a trip, or on a more or less justified mission. The party had no one to talk to. All those things happened and why not recall them. It is the construction worker's day. Changes of cadres became necessary, changes of ministers became necessary. It became necessary to find a chief for the city, the capital. We needed a party cadre to help the minister. Thus, the party had someone to talk to, to organize the effort. We had to reconstruct the minibrigades [passage indistinct] but special minibrigades, unhealthy neighborhoods, the maintenance of the houses. Then we created the industrial minibrigades such as the one for the steel industry which in the capital has approximately 1,000 workers working on expansions and constructions.

Many things have been created. The contingents have been created. We did new things we did not have 15 years ago. One of the most promising things we did was the creation of the contingents. The first contingent was formed from the minibrigades. The contingent was an extraordinary revolution in construction. It has meant a new road for accelerating the development of the country. The first workers contingent has become an example. The ideas that led the organization of the contingent are now being used in other work areas. For example, the brigades that build the partial draining systems for the sugarcane industry work with the motivation of a contingent, at least they work as long as it doesn't rain. Those who work in the [words indistinct] system are working with the spirit of a contingent. There are some materials industries where it is possible, and they have started to work with the spirit of a contingent. [passage indistinct] The Mariel cement factory applied some of the contingent's principles, not all because it is not easy. There are no two activities that are the same. You cannot mechanically apply the principles of one activity to another.

Some of the principles, however, were applied wherever possible. The Mariel cement factory fulfilled a plan which it was not expected to fulfill. It produced excess cement which the country needed so much. It increased productivity by 33 percent. It reduced its personnel roster by 150. It improved the workers' salary by almost 50 pesos. Everyone benefited: The industry, the country, the workers. All of this was related to the ideas of the contingents, such as the attention to man which is a key factor and an essential principle of the contingents. This idea is spreading. There are approximately 35,000 workers who may become incorporated into this contingent. I do not know if the 35,000 are included in these workers. [Unidentified person is heard saying they are included] They are already included. There are more than 60 contingents. This opens promising prospects for our country. As I was telling the students today, 100,000 men organized into contingents are doing now what 400,000 men used to do in the past. It is not very fitting to say what 400,000 used to do. It is more fitting to say what 400,000 men used to do poorly in the past, what 400,000 men tried to do in the past without finishing the job or finishing poorly. This is the truth.

We have gradually slowed down the contingent movement. One of the things I proposed is that we go slowly so as not to discredit the idea of contingents, which is a treasure that will provide decisive resources for promoting the country's development. We were going to provide better treatment for the men, the best lodging facilities, the best attention, and medical care. This is important. Ah, I know how some disguised worms think, who criticize everything: When the revolution developed the idea of the family doctor, they began to say, well, why the family doctor? They managed to subtly attack the best achievements of the revolution. Now, they see that the contingent movement is a revolution and a solution for the country because it expedites development. It is not a system of work that should be adopted for life, that is, with the same intensity, with the same duration, but it is a vital effort we need to make during these years to pull our country from under development and make it move ahead, promote its progress.

There are some people who complain, for instance, that there is a shortage of houses; that there is a shortage of this or that; and when contingents are organized, they say: This is not good, because they will take a long time. They subtly begin to criticize the contingent workers, who are the healthiest collective of workers in the country, [repeats] who are the healthiest. Contingent workers are also the best fed workers in the country, and they get the best rest during their time of rest. These workers are also among the best paid. They have not asked for this, but we proposed that it would be useful to set up a special rate for contingent workers. Thus, we established a special rate for contingent workers. This is why I say that the contingent movement has brought about a true revolution, it has yielded spectacular results in reducing the time for completing projects, in raising productivity.

It should suffice to mention that the CUJAE contingent has increased monthly productivity by a factor of 4 by

increasing it from 250 pesos to nearly 1,000 pesos. It should suffice to say that the large number of workers who were assigned to the Corojo Dam had a production cost per peso of 2.70. Today, after a few months, the contingent reduced the production cost to approximately 70 centavos. The contingent reduced it by 2 pesos. How can a country move ahead if its production cost per peso stands at 2.70 pesos? How can a country move ahead if it takes it 25 years to build a dam, or 50 years to build a road? How can a country move ahead amid such disorder, amid such laziness imposed by mistaken systems, ideas, or concepts; due to indiscipline by cadres, chief, or by the workers themselves?

We must have the courage here of putting the blame for the bad things happening on all those responsible. The workers were not, of course, the principle culprits. The principle culprits were those who designed the system, those who directed the project, those who did not impose discipline. The workers are also guilty because they got used to that, they adjusted to it.

Many of them liked that. They liked to report to work at 0800 and leave at 0830, as soon as roll call time passed; or to work in a construction brigade and, 2 hours after reporting to work, leave the work site to go to work for a rich illegal street vendor, who paid him a salary to build with the construction materials he bought with the money he stole from the people; or with a notorious bandit who made a lot of money and was able to obtain construction material because he could afford to buy it in the capital where they also created a free market for construction materials. This could be done, of course, because nothing was being built here. They could even sell the entire cement factory because they did not need it.

Illegal peddlers from Villa Clara or from Pinar del Rio would come with a truck rented from another individual and would take not only cement, reinforced rods, but even sand and stone with which to build. Those things were happening. There were workers who were working 1 hour or 2 hours, or who were leaving the work site to go to get the money from the peddlers who had the privilege of being able to build houses. Those things should not have happened, and you know that better than anyone else. We had to rectify all that and we are rectifying all that and many other things as well, so that we may truly build, at an accelerated pace, our new fatherland. The way we were going, we were going to destroy our fatherland instead of developing it.

This just shows the significance of ideas. It also shows how serious it is when some people yield to the temptation of copying little things from capitalism. What did the peasant free market, that had so many defenders, produce? How much meat was supplied by that famous market, which created millionaires? It supplied 100,000 tons of meat per year, which were sold at any price. The pork plan of the revolution alone—building 50 integrated centers, using food waste enriched with a product obtained from sugarcane—in approximately 3 years will build facilities to produce 100,000 tons.

The free market method is a capitalist method, which promotes plundering and theft, while the method producing 100,000 tons in a meat line alone is a socialist method. Can you imagine the stupid idea that that was going to resolve our meat supply problem. Our supply problems can be truly solved through socialist methods using sugarcane. The free market disrupted the cooperative movement in the country.

How can you make plans that will affect small lots? How can you build a canal or a dam? You could not find a place to build a canal unless you wanted to design a labyrinth with 500 turns to take water from one place to another. How would you apply the engineering system for rice crops? How would you apply the plot drainage system for sugarcane crops, which has nearly doubled the sugarcane production just as the enginnering system has nearly doubled the rice production?

The capitalist system has its methods, while the socialist system has its own methods. The capitalist methods create bandits, create thieves, create people who get rich at the expense of the work of others. For capitalists, it does not make any difference to have someone working for them on a salary or to sell something very expensive to a citizen. It is still fair to have expensive items, because a cigar is expensive. Alcoholic beverages are also relatively expensive, but this will not make any bandit rich. These prices are designed to help the people; so that they may have schools, so that they may have day care centers, so that they may have houses, so that they may have jobs; so that their country may develop; and so that the citizens may have transportation facilities.

The funds collected by the state are directly earmarked for projects and services that are beneficial to the citizen; but who knows which will be the ultimate destination of the funds collected by the individual. These funds are used to promote corruption and theft and to make the people pay high prices. Those ideas that were also associated with ways of organizing production have also contributed to creating problems such as the ones I have just mentioned.

Today there is more order, or we are restoring order in the construction area. We have much more order now and, little by little, we may suddenly find that we have solved what has been promoted for 10 years, what has been corrupted for 10 years, what has been disorganized. We are now making progress, even though there are still pockets of laziness in a few places. I have seen that. I immediately notice when people are sitting around, just talking. When you get there, you wonder if they are on strike because they are just standing, or they are having a snack. No one knows anymore when their snack times are, or that it is lunch time. All this talking takes place because the chief is either complacent or is an idiot, because he does not impose discipline. Yet, as I have time and again said, a worker must demand that he be

disciplined. Workers like to be disciplined, they like discipline, they like to work, they like progress, they like to see the project moving. Every man likes that. No man likes filth, except for those who, having the soul of pigs, are capable of rolling in the mud.

All men have dignity, some more than others, but all men have it. All men have a sense of shame, some more than others, but they have it. I have seen men who, despite not having a high sense of shame, are even capable of giving their lives, because their little sense of shame becomes a driving force to uphold honor and behavior. We need, however, people who will impose demands on others. We also need people who are willing to take orders from others so that we can get things organized.

Whenever I visit a work site I can tell what is going on just by listening to the noises. If there were only two men there, not 40, there would be complete silence. No concrete mixer is moving; no hammering can be heard. All of a sudden we can hear bang, bang, bang: Three hammers pounding. Then, there is silence. Then, two hammers pounding again. Even by listening to the noises one can tell if the workers are working. I have experienced tremendous noises in some places, a symphony of work: A concrete mixer over here, a wheelbarrow over there, a worker hammering over there, another worker cutting the edges of something, another worker nailing something. Even by the noises they make one can tell whether the workers are working or not.

We still have enterprises that will have to improve, improve, and improve. There are also isolated unsupervised groups that operate at will. We have not yet completely won this battle. We will win it, there is no doubt about this, through the cooperation and support of the workers. Contingents in many places were not created with new people, but with the same workers. There, where in the past one could notice tremendous laziness, where laziness was institutionalized, all of a sudden one can notice an extraordinary activity, and those same began to produce much more. All this shows the importance of concepts, the importance of ideas regarding organization.

I am very happy for you having stimulated Havana City with this honor. I hope we can continue to make progress because we still have a long way to go. Sometimes we are stopped by objective factors, sometimes we are stopped by lack of construction materials. We have made an extraordinary effort to supply the materials needed for construction projects. In 2 years we have invested more than $100 million, [repeats himself] more than $100 million in hard cash, to foster the construction materials industry. Thus, we have built dozens and dozens of factories for floor tiles, for mosaic tiles. We did not have to spend anything to set up some of the new floor tile lines because the equipment had been stored in boxes for 10 years. The same happened with the grinder, which had been stored in boxes for 10 or 11 years, for the Purio mill. When I say $100 million I am not including the equipment already stored in boxes and which are now being mounted.

I am talking about sanding facilities, stone mills, cement block factories, of factories for small tiles for archways, of floor beams, of roof tiles, of bricks, in sum, of all basic construction materials. I am talking about tripling our capability to melt aluminum for construction; about new factories for wooden furniture; about new methods to save materials. I must say that much cement used to be stolen from our construction projects. In some cases they were using 600, 700 and even more than 700 kg of cement per cubic meter of concrete. Even if they were using cement in those places where they should just use sand and stones, it was impossible to use so much cement. There, there must have been some quick hands that were supplying cement to an illegal peddler or to somebody else.

Stealing was the order of the day in construction. We were losing both cement and lumber. This year we have used less than 450 kg of cement per cubic meter of concrete at the Construction Ministry, where they are planning to further reduce this ratio. There were years when we were using nearly 700 kg of cement per cubic meter of concrete. How can a country move ahead in this way? We do not even know about lumber. We used to make 28 cubic meters of concrete per cubic meter of lumber. Today, we are making 50, 60, and expect to surpass 100 cubic meters, because we will not get any more lumber. With the same amount of lumber that we were wasting, we can now build three times more. In reality, this is what we have been doing.

We used 380 cubic meters of cement to build the bus terminal [corrects himself] no, it is not cubic meters, but kilograms per cubic meter of concrete. Just think what we can achieve if kept to this rate. We can build nearly 200 cubic meter of concrete per cubic meter of lumber. To do this, we would of course be also using steel molds.

We are inventing whatever should be invented to resolve our problems and move ahead. This project is an example. We have wasted time here. This project fell behind schedule at times because we were short of supplies, sometimes because we ourselves fell behind schedule. Some time ago we started to work in such a way to get this project moving. I visited some places. I visited this place more than once. To tell you the truth, it used to be quite disorganized here. There was equipment misplaced over here, there were bindweed and brushes over rusted equipment. I have seen all that here. This was a gigantic project that could be compared to an elephant giving birth to a rabbit. We were investing 300 billion pesos to produce 200,000 tons of steel. We have made efforts in some uncomplicated investments to double the production of this plant, so that the elephant may deliver a sheep, not a rabbit.

Later, we will have to continue to do other things so that this monster can produce even more steel. The fact of the

matter is that here we have wasted time. It is undeniable that we have worked badly here for years. This project is behind schedule and we intend precisely to make it move ahead. We were talking about completing it in 1992. We are trying hard to see it as the famous (IBC) [not further identified], if the first one is completed in 1990. We will try to finish the second one [words indistinct] an important part of that rolling mill, to see how much time we gain.

We cannot waste any time. Our country needs the steel. Our country's economy needs the steel. Steel is needed for construction as well as for the steelworking industry. We must accelerate it, we must organize it well. The first thing I notice in a project is the degree of order or disorder existing there, of sand piled up in one place, of equipment spread all over. These are signs indicating whether there is order or not in a project site.

We have decided to promote the idea of the contingent. Today, we presented it with the banner. I believe, however, that the contingent must earn its banner now. You have made some achievements, but it will be within the next 2 years that we will know if it is worthy or not of having received the banner. [Unidentified worker shouts: We will not fail you, Fidel] [applause]

I have seen the results produced by men who work well, I have been able to test the honor of workers and builders in many places. Moa is one of those places. There, the workers are building much more with half of what they used to have 10 years ago, when they had 15,000 men there. Can you imagine what we can accomplish with all the men we have throughout the country? The Moa contingent consists of 8,000 or 9,000, and it is yielding extraordinary results. Contingents have yielded extraordinary results everywhere. This is why I expect that here, too, it will yield similar results. I have no doubts, but I deem it my duty to remind you that we have wasted time here, and that, therefore, you have to make us forget the bad things that happened here.

There, at the old Antillana, we have also introduced technological innovations, that is, two (IBC) lines that will increase the production capability of the old facilities by 100,000 tons.

Today, those two (IBC's) are almost a reality. This is why at a certain moment we asked the workers here to send some reinforcements over there to be able to rapidly produce 100,000 tons. Today, this is almost a reality.

Now, we must promptly seek to produce the 440,000 tons we will obtain through the enlargement of Antillana de Acero. The country has a great need for this. It is in your hands. You have virtually all the equipment you need. It is true that we had to enter into new contracts to replace some equipment that was destroyed under the brushes during the delay period. We had to enter into new contracts. When all this is completed, the country will be producing nearly 1 million tons of steel. Part of this production will be exported, but only one part of it. The steel produced here will be fundamentally earmarked for construction projects and for our steelworking industry, so that the country may have a ready supply of steel, a raw material that is fundamental for promoting the development of our fatherland, and the well-being of our people. This is a key industry. You must work keeping in mind that this is a key industry.

I hope that with the creation of the contingent we may have also created the conditions that we always wanted to exist to meet the needs of the contingent members, that is, conditions regarding the facilities where food is prepared; where food is served, in the dining rooms; in the lodging facilities; the working environment; in the medical care of the workers.

I cannot think now of a larger project than this one in the capital. I cannot think of an industry that is as of such strategic importance as this one. There are nearly 2,000 workers here, in addition to, the brigade charged with the earth movement work. Here, [words indistinct] contingents of mini-brigades. We must complete the (IBC) at the old Antillana plant and we must work at full speed to expedite the projects here. We must also build the rolling mill. We will be alert. Rest assured that 1 week will not elapse without us asking the minister, comrade Lage; any of the two Lages, Carlos and Marcos, who usually come here, what is the status of the Antillana projects, how is the new contingent doing?

I understand you decided to call your contingent Julio Antonio Mella, a glorious name in our history, an exemplary man. Remember that the tyranny that was at the service of imperialism took his life when he was still very young. He was the founder of our first Communist Party. You must honor his name. [applause]

We will be closely following the project and we will do everything we can to help make the work go smoothly, so that you may have everything you need to fulfill the mission entrusted to you, that is, to accelerate this project until completing it and thus supply an additional half a million tons of steel to our country. Then, we will see which way to go, because 2,000 men is a big number of men. I am sure other important tasks will surface. I said I was not going to speak long. The rally of the young people at 12th and 23d Streets is probably already underway. It has probably already started. I would have liked to watch it at least on television. I asked that it be recorded to see it later. Like boxing matches, baseball games, or volleyball games, I like to watch these things live. This time, I will have to see it recorded.

There are other projects we have to implement around here. We need to build a sand unloading facility for the sand that will be required to build this monster. We also have work related to the railway system, and other projects. We will do whatever needs to be done.

I am certain we will have nothing left to do here. I am certain we will finish our projects. We may modernize it later. That will no longer be your task. When I visited the (IBC), the first line was almost finished and I asked what

we could do with the Martin furnaces. Then he reminded me we had already discussed the possibility of the electric arc. Maybe one of the innovations we can make is the introduction of the electric arc to produce more steel. The two [words indistinct] have the capacity to produce more than what the Martin furnaces can produce. So, we will have innovations here. We will have more progress here.

I would have liked to have this industry a bit farther from the capital. We know it uses a lot of water and water is something we do not have an abundance of in this area of Havana City and Havana. But it started here as a small installation which grew and grew. What we have to try to do in the future is to ensure it produces good quality steel. We do not want it to grow too much. We want it to grow in technological inventions but not in size. Although, it has been said that a couple more furnaces would fit in the expanded area. There is danger here, even the danger of expanding this. But we will see. Once we thought about a steel mill elsewhere, over by the Mayari Municipality. The location has not been chosen yet. We also have started building a workshop to support construction. Now we are transferring the workshop to Ciego de Avila so that it produces steel structures like the ones produced in Las Tunas. We must [word indistinct] one thing, part of these (IBC) lines. In old Antillana, they were imported; however, a major important part of the components of that line were produced in our country. They were produced in mechanical plants, in Cubana de Acero, and in other places. It is pleasant to see how this mechanical industry produces this equipment. It also produces the main components for a sugar plant. It was also able to produce the two rolling mills we have in Las Tunas which are going to use the steel from this plant. This is what is important. We already have two which have the capacity to produce 100,000 tons each. [Words indistinct] small expenditure in convertible currency, buying components. Our mechanical industry built two rolling mills. We have also pointed out...[rephrases] assigned the steel mechanical industry to produce for factories. We have not yet met the challenge of producing the first line of cement of 300,000 tons. We got involved in other tasks of such as the development of the auto industry which is so important for the country. However, it is good to point out that many of the components of those two lines were made in Cuba.

This is how we will have to work. We will have to make in Cuba whatever can be made here, and we must bring in whatever is not possible or convenient to make here. For that development, we need this steel. We need all this steel for the machinery industry; this steel will not be solely for construction. This helps the future of the country. Thanks to the developments the revolution is making, thanks to the graduation of the tens of thousands of engineers and of the hundreds of thousands of university professionals, and hundreds of thousands of mid-level technicians, and thanks to the progress of the revolution in the social arena, the progress of the education of our people, and to the training of professionals and technicians, today we are reaping the fruits of the schools we built and of the efforts that were made in the past years. We will need those efforts even more every year. Should the country have to go through difficult times, as I have explained earlier, no one knows the worth of all that accumulated talent and experience and of all those new generations that have been trained in science and technology.

I think we have enough reason to remember this ceremony and this day in the future. This is a day in which we celebrate the province's achievements in the construction sector. This is a day in which we have presented the banners to three brigades [as heard]. However, it is the day in which we have presented the banner to the Julio Antonio Mella brigade, and as we see the progress it makes, we will see our satisfaction with it. As I was telling you, I will remain attentive. I will come as many times as my limited time allows me to come to these areas. And I promise you I will be here with you in the not too distant day when we can say that the expansion of the Antillana de Acero has been finished. [applause] Socialism or death, fatherland or death, we shall win!

El Salvador

Suspects in Jesuits' Murder Reportedly Arrested

PA0801004790 Paris AFP in Spanish 0028 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] San Salvador, 7 Jan (AFP)—A local radio station reported today that a group of people, including members of the Salvadoran Army, were arrested in the last few hours because of their suspected involvement in the assassination of six Spanish Jesuits on 16 November.

Citing reliable sources, Radio Cadena YSKL stated this afternoon that the suspected assassins were arrested after the investigations of the case had been carried out. U.S., Spanish, and British investigators participated in the investigations.

It has also been learned that President Alfredo Cristiani will address the country tonight over a national radio and television network, presumably to refer to this subject.

Cristiani Says Army Tied to Murders

PA0801042390 San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish 0310 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Speech by President Alfredo Cristiani on 7 January; place not given—live or recorded; broadcast in progress]

[Text]... that also marks the beginning of a new decade, I want to tell you that I will continue to work without sparing any effort so that all Salvadorans can live in peace, progress, and freedom.

When I was sworn in as president of El Salvador on 1 June 1989, I promised to faithfully abide by the mandate that you, the Salvadoran people, gave me. I promised to fulfill and make others fulfill the Constitution. I promised to strengthen the democratic process, to improve the administration of justice, to attain peace, and to protect the rights of the people.

During my inaugural speech I said: I will work to defend human rights because of my moral conviction and because it is my political duty and patriotic responsibility. I will struggle so that respect for human rights becomes a norm of coexistence in our society. Further on in that same speech I stated: On 20 March, I said that I had won the elections without defeating anybody. I now reiterate that I do not see anybody as an enemy, regardless of their political ideology or current. I will, however, vigorously and mercilessly struggle against corruption, violence, unpunished crimes, and disorder, because the Salvadoran people cannot stand this anymore. The Salvadoran people unmistakably ordered me to eliminate all this.

Within that context, on 16 November 1989, the Salvadoran Presidency and the Armed Forces High Command promised to do everything possible to identify the perpetrators of the abominable crime against the lives of six Jesuit priests, a maid, and her daughter, regardless of who the culprits were.

Tonight, I want to inform the Salvadoran people, and especially the religious community, that the investigations conducted by the Commission for the Investigation of Criminal Actions have been professional and exhaustive from the very beginning. Based on those investigations, we have determined that there is an involvement of some Armed Forces members in that crime.

With the intention of determining the exact circumstances of the crime, to discover the full truth of the matter, and because the Armed Forces will not let any of its members stain their professional and moral principles, they have immediately created a Special Commission of Honor comprised of officers of various ranks within the military echelons and of civilian lawyers. With the support of the Commission for the Investigation of Criminal Actions, the Special Commission of Honor will define responsibilities and will do justice in this horrible crime.

Finally, and to prevent people from hindering the normal development of the corresponding investigation, I request the necessary understanding and I beg people to avoid making speculations regarding this very delicate case. I will keep you informed as the investigations develop.

I thank you for your understanding in advance. You can be absolutely sure that your government and your Armed Forces are determined to uncover all the persons involved in such a horrible crime. Good night and God bless you all.

Foreign Ministry on Ties With Panama, Nicaragua

PA0501153390 San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 4 Jan 90 pp 3, 37

[Text] According to official sources, while relations between the Salvadoran Government and Panama are heading toward total normalization, relations with Nicargua continue to be cold, without showing "any signs of rapprochement."

Foreign Ministry spokesmen have said that during the last days of 1989, the Salvadoran Foreign Ministry sent a note to its Panamanian counterpart recognizing the new government headed by Guillermo Endara.

Since then, the sources said, there has been a cordial exchange of notes between the two governments.

"We have been following the Panamanian process closely," the sources said, adding that the Salvadoran Foreign Ministry will soon appoint a new ambasssador to that country.

El Salvador's relations with Panama deteriorated after General Manuel Noriega disavowed civilian Eric Arturo

Delvalle as president of that nation. Since then, the Salvadoran Government has withdrawn its ambassador and the Salvadoran representation in that country was reduced to the level of charge d'affaires.

After the May incidents, when Noriega annulled the elections held last year and his followers attacked the opposition candidates who had won the elections, El Salvador withdrew all of its representatives, except for Consul Patricia Arlete Rodriguez de Morgan.

According to Foreign Ministry spokesmen, the relations between the two governments will normalize as Guillermo Endara's government is consolidated.

"Our relations with Nicaragua are still suspended and are currently at the lowest level, because we withdrew all of our representatives and there are no signs of rapprochement," the sources said.

El Salvador suspended its relations with Nicaragua in November, following the discovery of a wrecked light aircraft that, according to the authorities, had come from Nicaragua with a large arsenal for the guerrillas operating in El Salvador.

Bishops Advocate Government-FMLN Dialogue

PA0701191090 Panama City ACAN in Spanish
1722 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] San Salvador, 7 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—Gregorio Rosa Chavez, auxiliary bishop of San Salvador, said today that during private talks the church has held with government and guerrilla delegates, the latter have "expressed a willingness" to resume the talks that were interrupted at the end of October.

"The dialogue should resume this year, but with firmness, responsibility, and sincerity," Rosa Chavez told the press following today's homily, although he did not disclose the dates on which meetings were to be held between the conflicting sides.

The clergyman said, nevertheless, that as long as the government and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) fail to reach an agreement to end the war El Salvador has endured for the past decade, "anything can happen" in this country.

The auxiliary bishop of San Salvador made the statement as he commented on a series of dynamite attacks against commercial establishments, transportation, and power posts, which have affected up to 70 percent of the electricity supplies to some areas of the country.

"During private talks with the government and the FMLN, both sides pointed out that they are willing to seek the path of dialogue that will entail their overcoming many difficulties," the prelate warned, although he did not disclose whether or not there is a specific agreement on resuming the negotiations.

Rosa Chavez said that the government has "studied the lessons" of the last 2 months of the past year, when the war in this country worsened, which may contribute to this year being one of increasing "openness and tolerance."

The religious leader also said that he perceives an improvement in relations between the church and the state this year, as well as between the church and political, union, and humanitarian organizations.

Rosa Chavez and Archbishop of San Salvador Arturo Rivera y Damas have been the objects of harsh criticisms over the past few days from sectors of the Armed Forces and the Attorney General Mauricio Eduardo Colorado, who asked El Salvador's Episcopal Conference to "investigate and analyze" the work the two bishops are doing, because he believes they are partial to the FMLN.

"I believe this will be a year of increased opportunities, tolerance, openness, and understanding," he said.

Bishop Requests Change in U.S. Policy, Options

PA0701181690 Hamburg DPA in Spanish
1725 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] San Salvador, 7 Jan (DPA)—The Salvadoran church has asked the U.S. Catholic Church to exert pressure on President George Bush's government so that it modifies the U.S. military policy toward El Salvador and stops insisting on a military solution, as it has for 10 years, during which time it maintained aid that has only created crisis, stated San Salvador Auxiliary Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez today.

He explained that this was discussed during a recent visit by U.S. Catholic leaders to El Salvador, including the archbishop of Los Angeles, Monsignor Mahoney, and other prelates—who brought aid for the victims of the November and December armed offensive.

Rosa Chavez said that the U.S. Catholic Church promised to contact the Bush administration and the U.S. Congress today, when the discussions to approve more military aid are due to come up.

The pastor also said that another Lutheran Church delegation is in the country and that he met with its members on 6 January to discuss the same issue and struggle on the ecumenical level for peace—through a rational discussion, dialogue, and negotiation.

Bishop Rosa Chavez said that, according to his interviews with delegates of President Alfredo Cristiani's government, with President Cristiani, and with guerrilla organizations "there are encouraging signs that the peace talks could be renewed at any moment."

The bishop minimized the statements by General Juan Rafael Bustillo, former commander of the Salvadoran Air Force [FAS], who accused Archbishop Arturo Rivera

y Damas and Rosa Chavez of stirring things up with their homilies, adding that they only accept the pope as their judge.

"Cardenal Roger Etchegaray, president of the Papal Justice and Peace Commission, was informed of our work this week and he has publicly praised our actions." Referring to the former FAS Commander Rosa Chavez said: "We know what role he played and what his work was as head of the FAS, and the people are aware of it."

The Lutheran delegation visiting El Salvador under the sponsorship of the World Ministries Office of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America will today visit the tomb of the six Jesuits who were assassinated on 16 November 1989 in the Central American University's installations.

Other visitors include the Reverend Arthur McGovern, a Jesuit from Detroit, and other Lutheran bishops from Washington, Denver, San Francisco, Milwaukee, and other North American cities. Yesterday, during their first day in the country, they said that the religious persecution against church members working for the poor and the war victims must cease in El Salvador.

The U.S. delegation came to state its solidarity with the Salvadoran church and its support for Salvadoran Lutheran Bishop Medardo Gomez Soto, who has suffered persecution, threats, and attacks from groups linked with the Armed Forces. However, "I cannot accuse the entire Armed Forces High Command" of this.

Attorney General on Conflict With Church

PA0601014790 San Salvador TCS Television in Spanish 1215 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Report by Samuel Arias]

[Text] The conflict between Catholic officials and the attorney general, which started last year with a letter sent by this government official to Pope John Paul II, has grown worse as the attorney general has sent another letter, and this time it was against the San Salvador Episcopal Conference. Monsignior Arturo Rivera y Damas recently made statements regarding the possible excommunicationon of this official, and Attorney General Dr Mauricio Colorado has confronted these statements by making the Catholic prelate responsible for any attack against his person.

[Begin Colorado recording] I feel threatened. I hereby hold Msgr Rivera y Damas responsible for anything that happens to me because I am trying to conduct justice in this country, and I am trying to tell the truth. If this is going to take me... [changes thought] take note of another rash action by this man. Jesus Christ said: You do not have to fear the person who kills the body but rather fear the person who kills the soul. Well, this gentleman does not only want to kill my body but also my soul because he wants to excommunicate me so that I will go to hell. [end recording]

Dr Colorado believes the San Salvador archbishop had pictured him as a persecutor of the church, and this could be used by some persons to attack him. He denied these charges and said that he was only attempting to point out attitudes that had been taken by the priests that he, personnally and as a Catholic, considers wrong.

[Begin Colorado recording] I am not attacking the church. I am not attacking them. I am simply expressing my view, because when I believe the church, or the Armed Forces, or whoever, interferes with justice, things are bad. It is wrong, regardless of who does this. [end recording]

Finally the official reported that there are plans to improve the institution's operational system in 1990. He said the work schedule has been changed; it used to end at 1300 and now has been extended to 1600. He also said that an adjunct attorney general is going to be designated and that support material and equipment will be bought with AID help.

Army Officially Reports 1989 FMLN Casualties

PA0701182790 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2211 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] San Salvador 5 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—The Salvadoran Armed Forces reported today that guerrilla organizations sustained approximately 7,000 casualties in combat throughout the nation during 1989.

According to the Defense Ministry, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) sustained 3,733 deaths and 3,000 wounded. The military report also acknowledges that the Armed Forces sustained 1,017 dead and 4,274 wounded during the same period .

The Defense Ministry likewise pointed out that 3,114 rebels were arrested by the Armed Forces and arraigned before courts, that 152 deserted the FMLN ranks, and that it seized large amounts of war equipment.

The military source adds that 2,300 rifles, 25 surface-to-air missiles, 275 grenade launchers, 59 mortars, 134 machine guns, 435 revolvers, "abundant" ammunition, and materials to manufacture explosive devices were also seized.

These figures contrast with those of the FMLN, which assures that it caused 8,255 Armed Forces casualties last year, although it did not report its own casualties.

Salvadoran political and religious sources agree that political violence in El Salvador reached its highest point last year—particularly after 11 November, when the FMLN launched a bloody offensive.

FMLN Kills 10, Wounds 20 Armed Forces Members

PA0701182990 San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 3 Jan 90 p 2

[Text] A total of 10 dead and approximately 20 wounded is the result of a clash between the Army Forces and

FMLN terrorists in Nuevo Cuscatlan, La Libertad Jurisdiction, military spokesmen have reported.

Bracamonte Battalion troops clashed with FMLN criminals near Las Penitas farm at approximately 1600 on 31 December.

The terrorists captured three soldiers, who later were found dead a short distance from where combat took place.

The rebels used the corpses as "booby traps," placing bombs beneath the bodies.

As a result of this inhuman action, one soldier was killed and two were wounded with shrapnel when they were about to remove the bodies. The case is considered a grave violation of human rights and specialized institutions are expected to voice their protest.

Meanwhile, Atonal Battalion troops wounded two FMLN-FDR terrorists after a clash on 1 January near Las Orquideas farm, Santa Elena, Usulutan.

Members of this unit reported that they found the partially buried body of a terrorist in canton San Pedro Arenales, San Rafael Oriente, San Miguel.

FMLN Says Struggle in Panama Not Yet Over

PA0701171090 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Editorial: "Noriega Surrendered, But the Story Is Not Over"]

[Text] General Noriega surrendered last night to the U.S. occupation troops. President Bush immediately held a brief news conference to announce that all of the invasion's objectives had been fulfilled.

I will not stop now to analyze the controversial Gen. Noriega, nor will I judge him. History, and not U.S. justice, will dictate the final verdict. What is currently up for discussion, now that the nunciature episode is over, is what will happen in Panama.

The Americans have allegedly accomplished what they wanted, or rather, what they say they wanted. This means that the occupation troops must return home. Mr Endara, who allegedly won the elections, must now work on his own to get things back in order. He need not worry because, according to the media controlled by the U.S. Government, he enjoys broad popular support.

However, this is not the way it is. If all of the U.S. troops were to leave Panama tomorrow morning, by nightfall the former supermarket administrator would not have the presidential sash that was placed upon him at Howard Air Force Base. Endara does not rule Panama. In that neighboring country, the executive, legislative, and judicial branches—and almost the religious—are U.S. troops. Furthermore, the Americans used Noriega only as a pretext to keep the canal eternally and to bury the Torrijos-Carter Treaty agreements.

The Americans will not withdraw very rapidly from Panama. The country will take a very long time to recover from the terrible destruction caused by the invaders. However, what matters most for Panama's future is the nationalist sentiment that will not be long in surfacing. I am sure of that. No country forgets (?deaths), no country forgets humiliation; these are wounds that the U.S. Government will never be able to repay.

We must not forget the 1964 incidents when [words indistinct] killed 21 Panamanian students who attempted to raise their flag in the Canal Zone; they changed the course followed by one man—Torrijos—and an Army. December's invasion, during which thousands of Panamanians were killed by U.S. soldiers, will generate many new Torrijos. The story of Panama's patriotic struggle has not ended.

FMLN Denies Report on 31 December Attack

PA0701171790 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] The Coprefa [Armed Forces Press Committee] has reported an attack allegedly perpetrated on 31 December. In response, the Southeastern Front has issued a communique denying this alleged attack.

Communique from the Francisco Sanchez Southeastern Front concerning an alleged attack by FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] forces in Jucuapa, Usulutan Department, on the night of 31 December 1989. The FMLN explains:

1. Our forces did not carry out any offensive action on the Southeastern Front between 22 December and 2 January, in fulfillment of the unilateral truce decreed by our General Command for that period.

2. The incidents reported on 31 December in Jucuapa resulted from arguments between intoxicated Arce Battalion troops and National Guards based in Jucuapa, which in turn led to a shoot-out that lasted several hours. Several civilian casualties were reported following the shoot-out, and residents of Jucuapa were terrorized.

3. The previously described events are known to the entire population. The Coprefa communique, which appeared in the media, is part of the Army's effort to confuse the Salvadoran people and international community, and to take them by surprise. Therefore, we urge churches, democratic political parties, and humanitarian organizations to approach and get a first-hand look at the facts, and to help civilians affected by this confrontation, which is the result of the disorganization of the Army and security forces.

[Signed] Francisco Sanchez Southeastern Front Command

[Dated] 4 January 1990

FMLN General Command Issues Year-End Message

PA0801015490 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 1800 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Year-end message from the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, FMLN, General Command]

[Text] At the conclusion of 1989, the FMLN General Command addresses, first of all, our close comrade fighters, activists, and supporters who reach the end of this year with the same determination to fight that they have had throughout this whole period. We also address all our people, the leading protagonists of this struggle who became an example to the world for their integrity and unlimited courage. We also address all the peoples of the world who share our hopes for a better destiny with justice, democracy, and independence.

This is not the end to just another year. It is the end of a period that marks the beginning of the last decade in this millenium. The crisis caused by U.S. imperialism's domination in Latin America and El Salvador, the failure of the United States' counterinsurgency project, the uprising of a Latin American awareness on our continent, and the transformations in Eastern Europe are extremely important events that predict what will occur. The next 10 years will be decisive because the new millenium must be a new era in which the great needs and hopes of Third World countries will be met to achieve everlasting peace in the world.

We now fully understand how our struggle has been part of a broader context, and this has rendered it more complex and difficult. The crisis currently prevailing in the world, both in the capitalist and socialist sectors, definitely created the conditions for what is now occurring everywhere. Eastern Europe decided to solve its crisis by allowing—with great audacity and humanitarianism—the renewal of its society with the participation of its own people. Social groups have been liberated in the socialist world, and they have been allowed to act freely without foreign intervention. This has been achieved—even in Romania's dramatic case—despite U.S. imperialism's insinuations that the Warsaw Pact forces would intervene.

This renewal process has been victoriously interpreted by the United States as the interment of communism. In fact, communism has never existed until today. U.S. imperialism clung to that term to stigmatize any hope for social justice. The United States created this ghost and it is now burying the same ghost without realizing that it is actually burying militarism, interventionism, fascism, imperialism, and dictatorships—regardless of their ideology. The transformations achieved in those countries have strengthened two essential values of our times: democracy and the people's self-determination. The socialist system has clearly proved that it is a more human system and that it is capable of facing the greatest challenges that mankind will encounter in the next millenium.

Meanwhile, Latin America represents the best example of the crisis currently prevailing in capitalism. The crisis has resulted in an unpayable foreign debt, drug problems, economic and social deprivation for the vast majority, and the use of force to intervene in other nations' affairs—which recently happened in Panama. The end of this decade represents for us the definition of war as a result of the world's evolution and the transformation of societies hoping to achieve higher levels of coexistence and development. This result has already been reached in the socialist bloc; it is now Latin America's turn.

Ten years of democratic transformations and fierce struggles for self-determination in Nicaragua, plus 10 years of heroic struggle waged by the Salvadoran people along with the progress achieved by the Guatemalan revolutionary forces, have put the Central American countries in the lead within this process of unavoidable changes. All the evidence indicates that things will not be so easy in this region of the world, because hunger, poverty, and the lack of democracy will not be solved if the United States reacts to this need for changes like it has done in Panama—and the ensuing situation will only encourage social unrest and unavoidably increase the cost of any transformations. The accumulation of social problems in Latin America allows us to predict that the next decade will bear witness to great social events.

The violent and surprising events in Venezuela and Argentina earlier in the year, which resulted in thousands killed, are an indication of what will happen in coming years. With its interventionist policy, the United States has negated our peoples' self-determination and embittered the relations between the countries in the area. By preventing the social forces from acting freely, the United States prolongs the war and eliminates the possibility of achieving true democratization. The U.S. imperialist policy has weakened in the decade ending today. Latin Americanism has advanced and the time of a docile and puppet continent has been left behind.

Latin American interests and social forces have matured. Despite 30 years of invasion and commercial freezing, Cuba is still unbeaten. Nicaragua has resisted, has defeated 10 years of war waged by mercenaries, and is preparing to legitimize its revolution. In El Salvador, the 10 years of counterinsurgency with which the United States has tried to defeat us and which the United States has tried to impose on us have failed. The insurgency problems that were previously resolved with a few advisers and in a couple of years remain unsettled in El Salvador despite a $3 billion aid package, nearly 1,000 advisers, and 10 years of bloody war. In the past the problem of Panama would have been settled with a coup in a few hours' time, but now 2 years of economic freezing, subversion, businessmen's strikes, attacks, and thwarted coups were necessary. Finally, the United States had to use 30,000 men, destroy a country, and fight for 1 week to bring to submission an army and a military head they themselves had trained.

Latin Americanism is on its way forward. The decade now beginning belongs to Latin America. The struggle in our continent is of an anti-imperialist nature. Our struggle, as everyone knows, started in Central America 10 years ago with the triumph of the Sandinist revolution and the beginning of war in our country. This has turned the region into a true Vietnam during this decade. Because of all this, the sacrifice that our struggle entails is great and the process is complex, because both the struggle and the process occur in a changing world situation. While in Eastern Europe the areas of influence are disappearing and the peoples' self-determination is opening to an unhindered path, the U.S. empire walks in the opposite direction and clings to its neocolonial domination of Latin America and the Caribbean. What is at stake in El Salvador is not precisely communism or capitalism, but democracy and the continent's independence. Latin America aspires, not to a restricted society, but to a self-sufficient development and internal social balance with the participation of many social sectors. The Central American societies appear to be polarized in the eyes of both employers and workers, but the need for independence will coalesce all of these forces. In this context, our struggle, which is essentially for self-determination and democracy, is in the capitalist world the spearhead of the struggle of all Latin American and Third World countries, which demand these transformations. All that our people have done these years and all that has been constructed by our combatants, military commanders, political leaders, and those who have worked either as diplomats or guerrillas has now become very significant. The changes in strategy, the reshuffling of plans, the heroic resistance of the masses, the unity of the revolutionary movement, the political-ideological flexibility, the definition of a political platform adapted to the demand of the struggle, the large number of both local and international relations that have been established, and all that has been constructed with the blood of the best children of the people constitute our full contribution to the construction of democracy and sovereignty in El Salvador and Latin America and help make the people's victory more likely than ever.

In 1989 we started making efforts to end the war, to be able to construct a firm foundation of justice and democracy. The assessment of our actions this year, which is highly positive, is basically the assessment of those efforts.

During 1989 we dealt devastating blows to the Salvadoran Armed Forces. Those blows were strategically carried out during the offensive we launched on 11 November. One and a half months after we began that offensive, and within the new scope of our urban operations, we obtained the following results:

Casualties inflicted on the enemy: 2,455, including wounded or dead.

Damaged means of air transport: 27, including one O-2 plane, one A-37 plane, and several helicopters that were downed.

Number of armored and other military vehicles destroyed: 51.

Number of weapons seized by the FMLN: 352.

Number of ammunition seized: 120,800 cartridges.

However, the most important aspect of the results of our 11 November offensive is not the data, but the political impact of the offensive, which turned the Salvadoran situation into an issue discussed around the world.

The first 10 days of the offensive showed the world the reasons why [words indistinct] and showed the United States that none of its attempts in El Salvador served to consolidate a plan outlined in accordance with U.S. interests. The previous U.S. plan failed, and within 6 months of the implementation of its new plan headed by ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance] the plan is already a disaster. The possibility of a solution to our situation has thus been opened. There are currently intense debates about our situation in the United States. We can assert that those debates are a very important, perhaps the most important, achievement of the offensive that began in November and of the whole decade of struggle.

The FMLN's politico-military strategies have allowed the FMLN to set up guidelines for the preparation of a national program for El Salvador, including the prevalence of civilian over military power, a legal state, political pluralism, and guarantees for respect of human rights and democracy.

Ideological barriers that clouded the true sense of democracy, independence, and justice with whimsical interpretations guided by personal interests have been knocked down at the end of this decade. The last decade of this century will serve to give real meaning to the words democracy, justice, and independence. The last decade of this century will show who are the ones really making efforts to make dreams come true.

The FMLN is struggling to attain those goals. The FMLN will continue struggling to defend its ideology, which is the defense of Latin America, the peoples' right to self-determination, the consolidation of democracy in Latin America, and economic and social justice for our peoples.

Comrade militants, leaders, and combatants, our struggle is at the vanguard of social changes that will continue to be made around the world through the struggle of the masses.

Victory in El Salvador is guaranteed by an exemplary heroic people, whose most faithful representatives are the FMLN fighters. They amaze the world with the boldness of their actions, their ideological firmness, and their unyielding determination to achieve democracy and justice for their homeland. The dreams of our combative heroes and martyrs will come true in this decade that we are now beginning.

Comrade combatants, that is our mission and we will fulfill it.

FMLN General Command

[Signed] Commander Salvador Sanchez Ceren, Commander Jorge Shafik Handal, Commander Joaquin Villalobos, Commander Eduardo Sancho, Commander Francisco Jovel

[Dated] 31 December 1989

Nicaragua

Ortega at Nandaime; Praises Soldiers, Teachers

PA0601221490 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 1735 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Speech by President Daniel Ortega during rally in Nandaime—live]

[Text] Who will Nandaime vote for? [People shout: "Daniel!"] Who will Nandaime vote for? [People shout: "Daniel!"] Nandaime will vote for Daniel, Nandaime will vote for the revolution, Nandaime will vote for the front [Sandinist National Liberation Front, FSLN], Nandaime will vote for peace, Nandaime will vote for Nicaragua. [applause]

This morning we first of all honored our comrades heroes of the defense of the revolution. We honored those youths who gave part of their lives to defend the peasants, laborers, producers, the Nicaraguan workers; those youths who even gave part of their lives so that all the political parties in Nicaragua, the 21 legally registered political parties, could carry out a political campaign in our country. Those brothers to whom we presented the Camilo Ortega gold and silver medals are brothers who, during clashes with the Somozist counterrevolution, during clashes with those people, were wounded or disabled. Some of them, as you may have already noticed, are now in wheelchairs. However, the morale of these young brothers never ended up in a wheelchair; their morale has always been at the side of the people fighting for and defending the homeland and the revolution. This is why they are here with us this morning and why, on behalf of the people of Nandaime and the Nicaraguan people, we have honored them. [applause]

We also honored the teachers, those men and women who have devoted their lives to teaching our youths, who have devoted their lives to increasing the cultural level of our youths. They have become true champions of education because we cannot say that the teacher receives good wages. Do you believe the teachers receive good wages? Do they receive good or bad wages? Good or bad? Come on, answer: good or bad? [People shout: "Bad!"]. Yes, bad. The teachers do not receive good wages. Therefore, the teachers have become true champions of education. They work because they want to increase the cultural and intellectual level of the youth, thus increasing the cultural and intellectual level of the Nicaraguan people. They give the best of themselves, they sacrifice, they spend sleepless nights preparing for tomorrow's classes and reviewing homework. You have to be a teacher to realize how much work a teacher does.

The teacher does not have a schedule. Some people may think that the teacher only works while he or she is at school, but that is not so. Before getting to school the teacher must prepare the material he or she is going to teach. When that teacher gets to school he must then pass on this knowledge to the student. And after the school day is over the teacher does other things linked to education. The teacher must review and grade homework and prepare for the next day's classes. Teachers are also involved in other activities promoted by the revolution. They are always involved in the revolution's health projects. In other words they not only participate in educational activities, but in other cultural activities as well.

This is why this morning, here in Nandaime on behalf of all the people of Nandaime and Nicaragua, we have honored the Nicaraguan teachers and awarded them the Ramirez Goyena Order. An applause, our love and recognition to those teachers who today received the Ramirez Goyena Order. [applause]

After that we honored our sportsmen; those comrades and brothers who have dedicated their time, worked, sacrificed, and made efforts to excel in sports. Who does not like sports? Of those present here, who does not not like sports? We all like sports. Do we like sports? [People shout: "Yes!"] We like baseball, we like boxing. Here we have a comrade who told me that he is more than 70 years old and he received the Eduardo Green Order. He has played baseball and been a boxer throughout his 70 years. He is still strong because there is no doubt that sports are good for health. Sports brings health to our people, to our youths. The comrades who received the award have spent many years of their lives dedicated to sports. They have excelled in sports, they have defended the Nicaraguan flag and the Nicaraguan people at international sports activities. Just as I asked for the teachers and the heroes of defense, our applause, love, and recognition for these sportsmen. [applause]

We are only a few weeks away from 25 February. In other words, we are only a few weeks away from waging another battle against Somozism, against the totalitarianism that Somozism represented for Nicaragua when Somoza ruled and oppressed Nicaragua. On 25 February we are going to wage one battle against the imperialism that imposed totalitarianism here in Nicaragua. Many people are using the word totalitarianism today, but the truth is that the Yankee was the one who imposed totalitarianism in Nicaragua. Somozism has been the strongest expression of totalitarianism. However, those days ended on 19 July 1979.

We have waged many battles against the Yankee aggression. We have waged battles in the fields of health,

education, and even sports. There are some who say that things were better before the triumph of the revolution. That is what the Yankee and Somozists say. They say that things were better before the triumph of the revolution. However, one example is more than enough.

A few days ago I bid farewell to our baseball, volleyball, basketball, karate, judo, weightlifting, track, and boxing teams; more than 300 Nicaraguan sportsmen who are already competing at the Central American Games in Honduras and already winning gold medals for Nicaragua. I was talking with them, and we recalled that the first Central American Games were held in 1973. Nicaragua participated in those games. How did Nicaragua fare in those games? Do you know what place Nicaragua occupied during those games? I want to know if you know. No? Last place. We only received 25 medals. This was in 1973. The second Central American Games were held in 1976. Nicaragua participated once again. Do you know what place Nicaragua occupied during those games? What place? Last place. We got a few more medals; we got 45 or 47 medals, but we came in last. Who ruled Nicaragua in 1973 and 1976? Did the people rule Nicaragua in 1973 and 1976? Did the people rule Nicaragua during those years? [People shout: "No!"] Did you rule Nicaragua back then? [People shout: "No!"]. No, Somoza and the people who got rich through Somoza ruled back then. Those were the people who ruled Nicaragua back then. Was there money in Nicaragua back then? Yes, there was. In 1973 and 1976, Nicaragua exported quite a bit, but all that money ended up in Somoza's hands and the hands of a few rich people. However, the peasants did not have land in Nicaragua. The land was in the hands of the Somozist and a few other rich Nicaraguans. The peasants did not have land.

Then, in 1979, the revolution triumphed and in 1986 the third Central American games were held. You may recall that 1986 was a very difficult year. A year of difficult confrontations with the Yankees. A year when the Yankees were mining Nicaraguan ports, destroying bridges, and bombing us. The contras were attacking from all sides. It was then that we organized the Patriotic Military Service [SMP]. That meant there were fewer youths available for sports activities because youths had to defend the country. The economic situation was very difficult. Exports were not as high as they were in 1973 and 1977. However, despite all this, Nicaragua went to the Central American games. What place do you think Nicaragua took? Third place. Nicaragua won more than 107 medals.

So, sports are in better shape since the triumph of the revolution. The peasants' situation, despite all the economic problems, is better now since the triumph of the revolution because peasants now have land, which they lacked before. Peasants are now demanding land titles for those who have not received them. There are some peasants who have not received land titles, but others have already received them. Therefore, the people's overall situation is better now than before the revolution because people now have the opportunity to get organized, express their viewpoints, speak out, and criticize. This is why I am convinced that after 25 February 1990 the situation in Nicaragua will be much better because then all Nandaime residents and all Nicaraguans will select ballots in slot No. 5 and by doing so they will definitely be ending the war. All Nandaimians and Nicaraguans who vote on 25 February will select ballots in slot No. 5, which are ballots of the red and black flag of Sandino, of the red and black flag of the Sandinist National Liberation Front. People will be casting their votes for more democracy, more freedom, and more justice, which is what the revolution has brought. I have no doubts it will be an overwhelming triumph. People generally will not be confused or deceived, though a few could be lead to confusion.

However, the majority of the people cannot be confused or deceived. Brothers, when you return to your communities, hamlets, and neighborhoods, it is important for you to talk with your friends, neighbors, relatives and tell them we all must cast our votes in slot No. 5 on 25 February. On this date, we all must vote for peace. We all must participate in the great battle that the Nicaraguan people will wage on 25 February. This battle will enable us to defeat the war, Yankee imperialism, Somozism, contras, and the parties representing the contras and Somozism. We will honor, first of all, the heroes and martyrs. We will honor Sandino, workers and peasants, and producers. They will enjoy security for their land, which they will be able to make yield better crops more efficiently. We will honor all workers of our country, all of the Nicaraguan professionals. We will honor, above all, the heroic mothers who have suffered so much during all these years. This way, peace can come to Nicaragua and the Patriotic Military Service [SMP] no longer will mean death and grief, but better education and training and more jobs for youths.

It is true that at present the SMP, although it raises the youths' level of education and training, exposes our young men to risk because we have an enemy waging war on us. The enemy are the Yankees, the contras, the parties aligned with the contras, who assassinated the nuns at Las Minas and other Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] activists recently. On 25 February, however, we will put an end to all of these terrorist actions with our votes because this is the Nicaraguan people's will. This is the will of the Nandaime people. This is the will of the world peoples who have sided with the Nicaraguan people in this battle we have been waging for the past 10 years.

It is important for you upon returning to your homes to talk with your neighbors, friends, and relatives and tell them: It is irrelevant for you to be liberal or conservative. What counts is that you are a Nicaraguan. Because you are a Nicaraguan you cannot go wrong. Where must you cast your vote on 25 February? Where? In slot No. 5. You, Nicaraguan brother, cannot go wrong. If you want peace, brother, you cannot go wrong. You must cast your vote. Where? In slot No. 5, where the red and black flag

of the FSLN and Sandino is. I am sure that the votes cast in Nandaime will be reflected all over the country on 25 February. All of the people will cast their votes on 25 in slot No. 5 for Daniel, the deputies of the people, the people's representatives, for Nandaime. Otherwise, you would be voting for the contras, the National Guard, the Yankees. Nandaime will vote for peace by casting the people's votes in slot No. 5.

Nandaime will vote for the peasants' right to keep tilling the land. This will be possible if you cast your votes in slot No. 5 on 25 February. We must take into account that the FSLN candidates represent all sectors of the population. We have workers, peasants, professionals, clerics, students, women, old people, artisans, small businessmen, large and small-scale producers. The entire Nicaraguan society is represented by the FSLN candidates for deputies and councilmen. The FSLN is nonsectarian. The FSLN cannot be sectarian because it represents the interests of all Nicaraguans, not only those of one sector.

That is why the people cannot go wrong and be mistaken. The people know where they will vote on 25 February. They will vote with our Nandaime brothers. We will be defeating the aggression; we will be defeating the war; and we will be achieving peace.

On 25 February, all of these hands will cast their votes in slot No. 5. Our hands will cast their votes in slot No. 5. They will be united with the hands of the heroes and martyrs. The hands of Carlos Fonseca, Oscar Turcios, Ricardo Morales, and Augusto Cesar Sandino will be voting once again for Nicaragua.

Long live the people of Nandaime, long live free Nicaragua! We won! Everything will be better. Free fatherland! [Crowd shouts: "Or death!"]

Ortega Says Diplomats To Remain in Panama

PA0701170690 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1547 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Managua, 7 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has stated that his government will not withdraw its Nicaraguan diplomatic representatives in Panama but insisted that "the U.S. troops that have occupied that country" since 20 December 1989 "must immediately withdraw."

The Sandinist president thus answered questions on Panama's situation today, 7 January, while in Nandaime, 60 km southeast of Managua, as part of his political campaign—which he has recently stepped up.

"I do not judge General Manuel Antonio Noriega's attitude, only the abusive U.S. attitude, which has caused tension in Latin America and the Caribbean," stated the president and presidential candidate for the ruling Sandinist National Liberation Front.

According to Ortega, the U.S. troops' invasion in Panama has introduced "an element of concern" into the international community, "given that substantial progress has been achieved in overall detente between the United States and the Soviet Union."

The Nicaraguan president also criticized Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani, whom he accused of "supporting the U.S. invasion in Panama."

The Sandinist leader said he has sent a letter to Cristiani, "asking him to clearly state if he advocates violence by supporting the Yankee invasion in Panama."

Meanwhile, Nicaraguan Armed Forces Commander General Humberto Ortega (Daniel's brother) said in a news conference held today in Managua that "the threat of an invasion of this country prevails" as long as Panama is occupied by foreign troops.

Gen. Ortega warned that if the North Americans dare to militarily intervene in Nicaragua, "the United States will pay dearly for this invasion, because it would be different from what happened in Panama."

"We must all pray and unite so that the invasion does not occur," he said.

The military commander said he will not let Nicaraguans "become the guides for North American intervention in Nicaragua, because the Yankees' guide dogs will be neutralized even before (the invasion) occurs."

"We will not be idiots and let those guides hunt down patriots, thus guiding or giving the green light to the Yankees," Gen. Ortega emphasized.

The military commander reasserted that there are a half million men who are knowledgeable in the military arts, doctrine, and mobilization—and they will face the Yankees if they dare invade that Central American nation.

Ortega Speaks at Political Rally in Diriamba

Distances Himself From Noriega

PA0701220090 Paris AFP in Spanish 2057 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Managua, 7 Jan (AFP)—Without mentioning the man by his name, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega distanced himself from deposed General Manuel Antonio Noriega today by stating that his country "did not support people, but nationalist positions" in Panama.

During an election rally held in Diriamba, 40 km south of Managua, and before thousands of Sandinist supporters, Ortega stated his position regarding the Panamanian conflict and again demanded the "immediate withdrawal" of the U.S. troops who invaded Panama on 20 December.

President Ortega hopes to be reelected president of Nicaragua in the upcoming 25 February elections during which he will face opposition presidential candidate Violeta Barrios de Chamorro as his main opponent.

Also, Ortega described as "insufficient" the recent U.S. offer to place $3 million at the disposal of the International Support and Verification Commission (CIAV) towards the Central American agreements for the demobilization of the Nicaraguan contras.

After demanding the delivery to the CIAV of all the money Washington has earmarked to support the Nicaraguan rebels, as it was agreed upon by the Central American presidents during the Costa Rican summit in December, Ortega said: "The U.S. Government will not feed us atol [inexpensive drink made from cornflour] with one finger."

Comments Further on Panama, U.S.

PA0701230090 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2115 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Managua, 7 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said today that "the day will come when the Yankees will have to reach an understanding with Daniel Ortega either by fair or foul means."

During a speech delivered at an election rally held in Diriamba, 50 km southeast of Managua, President Ortega said: "If Bush or Reagan thought that President Ortega were a coward or an imbecile, they would have invaded Nicaragua a long time ago."

The United States and Nicaragua are now facing a new crisis as a result of a search carried out by U.S. soldiers at the residence of Nicaraguan Ambassador to Panama Antenor Ferrey on 27 December.

In response to that action, the Nicaraguan Government expelled 20 U.S. diplomats and reduced the administrative, service, and office personnel of the U.S. diplomatic representation in Nicaragua from 320 to 100 people.

Ortega said that as long as the U.S. troops occupy Panama "I will have to continue to demand that these troops leave Panama and stop stepping on Latin American peoples."

Ortega added that when the United States invades countries that do not have a revolutionary people, they are afforded the luxury of conducting "military excursions" as they have done in Grenada and Panama.

Ortega said that in Panama there was a nationalistic movement headed by General Omar Torrijos, and he warned that the movement had not been developed "from the bottom to the top," but on the contrary "from the top" and "without the participation of the Panamanian people."

According to Ortega, that movement, "surprisingly supported by Panamanian servicemen trained by the United States," had the support of the Nicaraguan Government, "but without any interference in Panamanian domestic affairs."

Ortega said that both Ronald Reagan and George Bush "have learned to respect the Nicaraguan people. They did not invade Nicaragua because they know we are a brave people."

Ortega said further that no country in the world deserves a president who is a fool or coward, or is servile, and that the countries "need worthy presidents."

He recalled that he shook Reagan's hand once, that he argued with Bush twice, and that on all these occasions he told the United States: "I am not meddling with the United States, and I am not trying to harass the Yankees. It is you people who are meddling in Nicaragua and bothering Nicaraguans."

"I have told the Yankees that we could even be friends, but that they must first learn to respect the Nicaraguan people if they want to be friends. Otherwise, good relations are impossible," the president pointed out.

As in other instances, Ortega held the United States responsible for "inventing" a war against Nicaragua and for the deaths in the country resulting from armed actions.

Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega reported yesterday that 50 confrontations, which resulted in 1,529 contra casualties, had occurred in 1989. In the same period, 314 Sandinist soldiers were killed and 572 civilians were killed or wounded. Also, the contras kidnapped 700 people.

Ortega Participates in La Libertad Peace March

PA0501155990 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Residents of Santo Domingo and La Libertad, Chontales Department warmly welcomed Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] President and Vice Presidential candidates Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramirez Mercado on 4 January. There were bullfights, festivals, firecrackers, and local and marimba music, while a great number of people from Chontales joined in a single embrace with the candidates for the people and for peace. While holding a rally with Santo Domingo residents, Daniel recalled the heroic work of General Pedro Altamirano, who in June 1930 expelled the Yankee invaders from that municipality. The president assured that 55 years later that same courage and bravery still prevailed among the villagers and peasants who, in 1985, forced the mercenaries back when they attempted to take over the village.

After his rally among the thousands of people from Santo Domingo, Daniel and Sergio, along with the people, marched for peace to La Libertad—where the inhabitants took to the streets to cheer the candidates heading the march. At his native village, Commander Ortega demanded the immediate withdrawal of U.S. invasion troops from Panama, saying that there is no reason for them to remain there since General Noriega has left the

country. The president gave assurances that the U.S. excuses for keeping their invading troops in Panama ended with Noriega's departure.

Amid applause, the president called upon the people of Chontales to bury the contras and imperialism forever by marking their votes in box number five on the ballot for peace, the future, and progress on 25 February. During the meeting, Commander Ortega bestowed the Miguel Ramirez Noriega Order on professors Rosa Aura and Amanda Suarez Estrada for their selfless educational work during 40 years.

Vice President Interviewed on U.S. Relations

PA0701140090 Managua LA CRONICA in Spanish 3-10 Jan 1990 pp 4,5,6

[Interview with Vice President Sergio Ramirez by unidentified reporter in Managua—date not given]

[Text] LA CRONICA: Does the U.S. invasion of Panama cause an imbalance in Central American international relations?

Ramirez: More than causing an imbalance, the U.S. invasion of Panama affects overall U.S. relations with Latin America. This is proven by the reaction of the Peruvian Government, which withdrew its ambassador from Washington, and also by the statements of the Colombian Government, which have been very harsh. The Chilean and Brazilian Governments have had similar reactions. Those reactions show very strong feelings against U.S. interventionist policy in Latin America.

The problem here resides in the repeated use of the same policy. It is the same black and white film of 1910 and 1912. Regardless of the existence of the Noriega figure, the United States acts as an international policeman. The United States wants to decide what should and what should not happen in a country.

This is where I see enormous damage to relations between the United States and Latin America.

The deterioration in relations between the United States and Latin America is even more notable when analyzed in the light of the new relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Those new relations have made us hope that inter-American relations would turn in a different direction. In other words, we expected a certain form of U.S. perestroyka toward Latin America. We expected the appearance of a new policy. We hoped that that policy would determine a new type of relationship in which each country can organize itself any way it wants, always heading toward the consolidation of democracy, but without this type of brutal interference. It seems to me that the destruction of that hope is the most serious damage caused by the U.S. invasion of Panama. We have returned to an old starting line, thus destroying any progress that could have been made.

LA CRONICA: What would you say is the reason for the lack of renewal in U.S. policy?

Ramirez: The United States has not yet experienced the change in political mentality as has the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is leading a substantial change—a change from one political model to another. The Soviet Union is also trying to define a new type of international relations, not just with its allies, but with all nations. That obviously entails a change in mentality.

The change has not taken place in the United States. The invasion of Panama proves it. The United States needs that change in mentality to have credibility and for its voice to be heard in Latin America. That change in mentality should include the application of a new policy. That would give credibility to the United States in Latin America.

The only thing accomplished by the application of policies like the one used in Panama is increased tensions. In Nicaragua we see what happened in Panama as something that could happen here. We are convinced that profound changes have not taken place in the United States and that conditions do not exist for a new type of relationship with them. As is said in the United States: "It takes two to tango." It is not enough if Nicaragua is willing to do things. Our will to promote detente between Nicaragua and the United States is not enough. Reciprocity is necessary. The events in Panama are a warning of what the United States is willing to do. When the United States dislikes a system or government, it takes up the right to decide whether presidential elections are valid or not regardless of whether those elections are endorsed by the OAS or the United Nations.

LA CRONICA: In your opinion, is the United States reaching the year 2000 with weak leadership?

Ramirez: I believe the USSR is conducting a great operation leading to economic and technological renewal. They really needed a true revolution in their political system and in international relations to make progress before the year 2000. They obviously had to fill the technological gap that existed between the USSR and countries like Japan and the FRG. The steps taken by the USSR in this regard are daring.

There will be detente in Europe as soon as technological investments are no longer made towards galactic war; as soon as strategic defensive systems are dismantled; and as soon as the regular forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact are reduced. In this regard, the United States is adopting a defensive position and I believe they are doing so for a reason. The U.S. economy bases its growth on its large military industry, and if military technological investments are no longer necessary sources that feed the U.S. economy will be closed.

This means that the U.S economic system should be democratized. It must make fundamental changes. It also involves a change in its concept of democracy. It should stop being the democracy of giant corporations, huge transnationals, and large interest groups. It should instead be a real democracy with greater participation.

Also important is for the United States to change its mission and its policy toward Latin America. The United States should not continue to try to impose its concept of democracy on the Latin American people. The elections in Paraguay have not led to the democratization of that country. The change of government in El Salvador does not mean that democracy has been installed in that country. With the exception of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, the armies continue to rule the rest of the Central American countries, they have the last word. In view of these situations, the United States must no longer interfere in the region's democratic processes. The United States must stop trying to abort the deep changes that the people of each nation want to make.

However, that is not taking place. The United States is not implementing perestroyka internationally nor is it implementing it internally.

As a result of this U.S. inertia, the USSR, West Europe, and Japan, for different reasons, will be better prepared to face the competition in the year 2000.

Japan has a social organization that allows it to take very long technological steps. Its labor and production organization allows it to take better advantage of its technological development. Southeast Asia is Japan's area of influence.

West Europe has a system for social and political coexistence that is more stable than that in the United States.

In its effort to change its political system, East Europe is not trying to copy the U.S. system, it is trying to imitate the West European system. When these countries, which used to belong to the Soviet bloc, reorganize their political situations and implement a political system of open participation with periodic elections and well-regulated regimes, they will have the opportunity to develop economically. In my opinion, they will do so more rapidly than the Soviets because the USSR has a heavy bureaucratic organization of huge proportions. The country's traditions are more difficult to break up. Its bureaucracy needs to be broken down and turned into a more agile organization. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and GDR will develop more rapidly and in a relatively short time, they will be able to produce modern technology, better labor organization, better stability, and economic growth.

These changes in East Europe will resolutely help to attain unity with West Europe. A unified Europe working in harmony will not be interested in opposing an alleged Soviet threat if the Soviet Union requests the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Europe will not be interested in maintaining relations with a far away ally such as the United States. Obviously, the United States is not interested in a united Europe when this implies a decrease in its hegemonic power. However, all these changes in Europe are not the solution to the problems of our Third World countries. The economic and social situation of those countries that remain tied to the U.S tail will not improve either as long as the United States does not change the terms of cooperation with Latin America and the Third World. Our problems will continue to intensify—foreign debt, unjust terms of trade, depletion [acumulacion], flight of capital.

That is why tension between the United States and us will continue to prevail. In conclusion, I want say that I do not believe Latin America and the Third World will benefit from the changes in USSR-U.S. relations.

LA CRONICA: How can Central America, particularly Nicaragua, face this new international context?

Ramirez: This is a structural problem. Poor countries, our Latin American countries, can hardly change this position—which you have called an after-dinner [sobremesa] economy—without structural changes. Structural changes are necessary to bring potential to a series of economic and social groups that have always been left on the sidelines and that have had no participation in the national project. First is to break away from these schemes because they have obstructed the participation of the national majority in our country's social and economic life.

The materialization of this change does not depend solely on what will occur in our countries but also on the world's reorganization and how international economic relations will be organized in the 21st century. This developed capitalist world must know that without structural changes what will come is violence, and I see it at our doors because, unfortunately, the developed world does not want to pay attention to the Third World.

I insist, the changes taking place in Europe have no bearing on the urgent needs and shortages of Latin America's poor countries and I believe it would be a big mistake to think that the changes occurring in East Europe and the USSR will influence or bring changes to the Third World, especially Latin America. As long as the United States does not change its policy toward Latin America; as long as international economic relations remain unchanged; as long as Latin America is burdened by its foreign debt, unfair international economic relations, and the low prices paid for its products; and as long as there are no changes in the distribution of land and wealth, Latin America will continue to be a time bomb.

Viewed from this angle, I believe that Nicaragua is in a much better position to confront this situation than other countries. In the case of Nicaragua, I do not believe that immediate material results are the parameters for judging this process. We are not talking about whether we have produced well-being and wealth, because there are a series of specific circumstances that have kept us from making structural changes. However, the changes we made were necessary to prepare Nicaragua for different kinds of international economic relations and internal social economic behavior. This means that the structural changes the country has experienced—land productivity and the possibility of structuring a fair

distribution of wealth—have better prepared us to confront this new situation, which is not the case in El Salvador, Honduras, or Guatemala.

LA CRONICA: Do the changes taking place in East Europe affect that region's cooperative relations with Nicaragua?

Ramirez: We do not know that just yet. However, I believe that there are some factors we must examine. These countries are making a turn to the right. They are not, however, aligning with U.S. policy. They are not becoming pro-U.S. countries. They are not imitating U.S. lifestyles either. Some time ago, I read in THE NEW YORK TIMES an interview with one of the leaders of the new forces in the GDR. It was an interview with a novelist who said that this is the last chance the GDR has before being devoured by McDonalds. That is a lapidary statement, and it describes the situation in the GDR very well. The statement does not mean that the GDR is rejecting socialism, but that it wants to add democratic elements to it. The GDR, however, does not want to become part of the group of countries that nourish their economies by exploiting other countries. The GDR departs from the point that socialism is better than capitalism, but with duly organized, democratic, and internal participation, of course.

We must study future relations of those countries with Nicaragua bearing that idea in mind. When thousands of people rushed into the streets of Berlin in the GDR, there were groups that shouted pro-Nicaraguan slogans. Some of them even sang a rock song composed here in Nicaragua by a prominent GDR rock singer. The song is called "To Look for the People." One part of that song says: "Little Nicaragua, do not send us your coffee, do not send us your bananas, do not send us your sugar, send us your "Face the People" programs." By the way, that song had been banned in the GDR, but as a result of the recent changes there, it can now be heard on all radio stations.

It must also be borne in mind that the youths, the intellectuals, and the people who have gotten involved in changing the domestic course of the East European countries have always been aware that in Nicaragua we have always struggled for different ways to carry out social change. That is why I do not believe the people who are now in charge of the governments in those countries are going to adopt a position hostile to Nicaragua.

You can imagine perfectly well that we are going to have the same kind of relations with them we now have with Sweden, a deeply social democratic country. I would describe our relations with Sweden as strategic, because they believe in what we are doing. That is why their cooperation is disinterested, resolute, firm, and constant to the point of having convened the conference of donors and having offered Sweden as a site of the conference. Swedish cooperation in Nicaragua can be seen everywhere, in the cultural and productive fields. In short, there is very deep identification between them and us. There is nothing to make me believe there will not be a similar relationship with the GDR, Czechoslovakia, or Poland, especially if the new leaders of those governments become aware of the reality of the poor countries and do not fall into the selfishness characterized by the capitalist countries.

I recently read a report on Lech Walesa's visit to Venezuela. At the end of his visit he said: "I have now learned of the poor and wretched Venezuela about which I was never taught." That statement from a man like Walesa, whom some have tried to portray as a pro-U.S. and rightist leader, shows that he feels great compassion about the situation of the poor countries. This gives us an indication of how the leaders of East Europe will conduct their relations with countries such as Nicaragua. Therefore, I am frankly not afraid.

LA CRONICA: Do you think the changes in East Europe will affect the Cuban political system?

Ramirez: That is a difficult question. We must keep in mind that Cuba has always been a CEMA member country and a strategic ally of the Soviet Union. Nicaragua's situation is different. Nicaragua has never been a CEMA member and has never had a centralized economy that would have enabled the country to become a CEMA member. In addition, we have never been a military ally of the Soviet Union, as Cuba has been. Moreover, changes in East Europe and even within the Warsaw Pact countries which went so far as an official statement saying the intervention in Czechoslovakia was a damnable error are deep changes that involve the reorganization of international relations. These changes also mean that the ruble will become a convertible currency and that the market will have greater influence on the regulation of economic life. All of these changes will surely affect Cuba. In other words, Cuba will stand alone to defend what Fidel considers his principles. I think he believes in his principles very firmly. He said in one of his most recent speeches that Cuba could be left alone to defend its socialism.

LA CRONICA: What do you think will be Nicaraguan society's plans for the 1990's?

Ramirez: Assuming that peace is a fundamental factor, we first have to consolidate the social and political system established in Nicaragua this decade, in other words, to firmly establish this political system of free democratic participation, mixed economy, and nonalignment. We must initiate the country's economic reconstruction. For this, it is first necessary to muster all the social forces after the elections. This should be the first step. This concerted effort, however, must be serious, true, free from the noise of elections and electoral antagonism, an effort in which everyone can sit down and seriously think about what must be done. This is what a relationship between the government and a civilized opposition must be based on. The opposition to

be represented at the National Assembly should play a truly steady role and be respected by the government.

This concerted effort should give the country the required stability to attract financial and technological resources to Nicaragua, not only through the cooperation of one government with another, but through multilateral organizations and investment. This way, we will be able to create more jobs, reactivate the economy, end the causes of destabilization, and create development centers throughout the country. I would say economic stability would bring political stability. Then, between now and the year 2000 we will march toward an economic development that will not make us originators of technology—this is impossible—but will enable us to take advantage of technology as it is produced.

We can achieve this by utilizing Nicaragua's wealth and changing the old concept that Nicaragua is a poor country. In truth, we are an impoverished country. Nicaragua enjoys a privileged position, better than that of any other Central American country, for exploiting its few economic assets, including oil, minerals, forests, fishing, and agricultural resources. An adequate tapping of these resources will enable us to improve the people's standard of living, as they deserve. I am an extremist on this subject. I am sure we can achieve these goals if we have peace and a concerted national effort.

When I talk about reaching consensus and reconciliation, I am talking about making a great effort to leave behind all divisional and ideological matters then establishing a common base for attaining a true political consensus. With this I do not mean to say that we are going to dissolve the normal contradictions that exist in a pluralist society, but rather that the disagreements we have will dissappear. An important element toward attaining that objective is to redirect our relations with the United States because, to the extent there is a sector which, although a minority, believes it can take advantage of the antagonism between the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] and the United States, to that same extent the division will increase. This is because the FSLN will continue to criticize that sector for its alliance with the United States. It is for these reasons that I believe the U.S. role is very important. I believe that the United States should help to attain stabilization so that all social and economic forces can work with security and harmony. However, this can only be attained when there is no antagonism.

LA CRONICA: Do you consider UNO [National Opposition Union] capable of helping in a process of concerted effort?

Ramirez: I do not want to belittle or to be negative. I can anticipate that UNO will change—to avoid saying it will be dissolved. I can anticipate that UNO will undergo sudden changes after 25 February due to UNO's own nature. There cannot be a National Opposition Union forever. The same word "opposition" reveals a transitory intention in view of a specific circumstance.

What I would like to see, at least I hope to see, is an alignment of true forces in the country and not an opposition that is a device solely in opposition and antagonistic to the FSLN. After the elections, I believe there will be an alignment because of to ideological similarity, such as social Christian, liberal, or conservative, which are the true forces that exist in the country as forces opposing the FSLN.

It cannot be denied that some minority groups—which will win some seats because of their participation within UNO—will be represented at the National Assembly. However, had those groups run in the elections individually, they would have been left out of the National Assembly. Therefore, the representatives within the National Assembly will not necessarily represent what each group would have elected individually.

Anyway, I believe in the reorganization of the opposition, and that there will be political realignment, which I believe, is best for the country. Moreover, I believe that is what will actually happen.

LA CRONICA: Do you think that the tone of the electoral campaign will help in reaching a post-electoral understanding? Should the campaign be viewed as an interlude?

Ramirez: A difference must be established between the electoral campaign and the political experience to follow the elections. Unfortunately, this election has shades of unavoidable elements of confrontation because of the war and Nicaragua's antagonism toward the United States. If these elements disappear, it seems to me that the country's political life would necessarily be different.

LA CRONICA: What is your forecast of the election results?

Ramirez: I believe we will win by a large margin, which will allow us to have an absolute majority in the National Assembly, and I believe that the parties in UNO will win enough seats to give them a certain degree of representation as opposition parties. I cannot say the same about the parties that are not members of UNO because the elections are polarized. I would not like to harm those parties by making extemporaneous remarks, but it seems to me that their chances are very limited. It is regrettable. However, even the alliance between the PSC [Social Christian Party] and the PPSC [Popular Social Christian Party] does not, in my opinion, have great chances.

LA CRONICA: Is it conceivable that the FSLN will join the Socialist International?

Ramirez: Yes, it is absolutely conceivable.

LA CRONICA: Will the democratic process you have described have repercussions within the FSLN as a party?

Ramirez: These elections are turning us into a true political party, into a party that is neither closed nor of strict militancy, but a party which, upon making an

appeal for votes, also appeals to another type of political adherence. These elections mark the FSLN's political evolution; we have turned to the electorate with greater strength, with clearer ideas, with an increasingly political, nonideological strategy. I emphasize this difference because it is very important to me. In ideological terms we have made an attempt to replace the masses with the individual. This has been a very important step for us because we are aware that the electorate is formed by individuals and is not the amorphous mass of which we very often think, ideologically, as a great political panacea.

Another characteristic of our evolution is the selection of municipal candidates. We have chosen as our candidates persons who are not FSLN cardholders because there are only 40,000 FSLN activists and this would not get us even three National Assembly seats. Therefore, we have carried out an important political exploration on other levels to choose candidates who can guarantee the FSLN's victory in certain municipalities. Our lists of candidates include producers and cattlemen who are important in their territories, even if they are conservatives. These persons have access to certain social groups in which the FSLN, as a party, cannot enter. This is one of the most daring transformations we have experienced because the FSLN is a vanguard party as we traditionally conceived it (and I admit that this concept has been futile but do not disqualifying it). However, we are talking about electoral participation and accept political reality. So we are building real alliances with different social and political groups in the country and are willing to give these alliances a strategic character so as to contribute toward the national consensus necessary for achieving national reconciliation.

LA CRONICA: Will the FSLN normalize its institutional life in the near future, meaning, will it hold congresses, publicize its statutes, and publicly say how its decisions are adopted?

Ramirez: Yes, the process is predictable for the near future. We have had very pragmatic rehearsals [ensayos] in this concern with the conventions. Our conventions have been real mechanisms rather than electoral masquerades. The consultations to prepare the lists of National Assembly candidates, the municipal conventions—all these are procedures we will institutionalize in the future as consultation mechanisms with our rank and file. I believe that this process will find its own way in the near future because we are defining ourselves as a true political party that must have permanent juridical mechanisms.

LA CRONICA: Will the FSLN be willing to continue to contribute toward the process for a national agreement even if it loses the elections?

Ramirez: It is a remote hypothesis, but we have to admit the possibility of a loss because we are participating in an electoral process—yet the FSLN will be the same whether it wins or loses.

H. Ortega Says Contras Plan 'Terrorist Actions'

PA0601233090 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1943 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Managua, 6 Jan (DPA)—Nicaraguan Defense Minister General Humberto Ortega today charged that the contras have organized approximately 40,000 [number as received] men to launch terrorist attacks and hinder the Nicaraguan electoral process culminating with the 25 February elections.

Ortega said these groups of contras have been equipped with modern weapons and explosives by the U.S. Government because their plans include the intimidation, kidnapping, and murder of activists and supporters of the ruling Sandinist National Liberation Front who work in campaign activities.

Ortega said that what the contras did during 1989 was to preserve some of their forces "so as to use other methods to try to maintain a presence in Nicaragua through small group terrorist actions."

As an example, he mentioned the attack on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast in which two nuns, one a U.S. citizen, were killed and Bishop Pablo Smith was wounded.

He announced that the Sandinist People's Army (EPS) and the Interior Ministry (MINT) forces "are going to guarantee measures adopted by the Supreme Electoral Council (CSE) so the electoral process can be carried out throughout the country."

General Ortega told local and foreign journalists at the Nicaraguan Presidency that if U.S. humanitarian aid had not been supplied to the contras, their terrorist capabilities would have been greatly reduced. Terrorist activities "do not respect anyone and that is why we cannot be at ease," he said. The defense minister said the San Isidro de Coronado agreements signed by the Central American presidents in Costa Rica "were a hard blow" to the rebels that had repercussions among their leadership. He added that, as a result, many contras have left the military and returned to Nicaraguan civilian life, taking advantage of the amnesty the Sandinist government has kept open to them.

He confirmed that the Army is holding talks with contra members who have expressed interest in abandoning the terrorist struggle because it no longer has any future. He said rebel leaders have begun repressive actions against them to prevent the rebels return to normal life with all their citizen's rights in Nicaragua.

Ortega also referred to the creation of a $3 million fund for the International Commission of Support and Verification (CIAV) to finance the voluntary relocation of the Nicaraguan contras, stating that this will also have repercussions within the contra forces.

He said the so-called assembly of the Nicaraguan Resistance, with which he held talks in a Managua hotel, no

longer exists. He added that that leadership has been reduced as a result of its internal struggles.

Humberto Ortega said that the contras have 6,500 men in Honduran territory and that, of that number, approximately 2,600 have infiltrated into Nicaragua and a similar number are in Costa Rica.

Says U.S. Invasion Threat 'Remains'

PA0601235490 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2032 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Managua, 6 Jan (ACAN-EFE) — General Humberto Ortega, chief of the Nicaraguan Armed Forces, today said the threat of invasion by U.S. troops against Nicaragua "remains" as long as Panama is occupied by U.S. troops.

At a news conference in which he presented an assessment of Nicaragua's military situation, Gen. Ortega pointed out that because of this threat, the general alert ordered by his brother President Daniel Ortega on 20 December, the day of the Panama invasion, will continue.

Gen. Ortega, who is also the Nicaraguan defense minister, warned that an invasion of Nicaragua would cost more than it did in Panama because in order to accomplish it the United States would have to open a "beachhead to enter."

"Invading would not be a matter of just crossing a street to the applause of the Nicaraguan people. In any case, the United States would have to open the beachhead amid a shower of bullets," he pointed out.

The Sandinist military chief said a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua would not be logical, just as the intervention in Panama was not, "but that does not mean we are going to let down our guard, which is why we are prepared."

He insisted that a U.S. Nicaraguan invasion would "provoke a genocide and that the conflict would spread throughout Central America, even though some have doubts about it."

The Sandinist general said there is half a million trained men in Nicaragua who know the art and doctrine of military operations, which "would result in a very high cost for the United States if it invades Nicaragua."

The military chief insisted that after the departure from Panama of General Manuel Antonio Noriega, the U.S. troops should get out of Panama in 3 or 4 days.

"Let us hope the United States recognizes the blunder they have committed in Panama, learn the lesson, and act positively by pulling its troops out of there, which will help greatly to prevent further problems and accelerate the peace we desire so much," Gen. Ortega pointed out.

Regarding the conduct of former Panamanian strongman Gen. Noriega, the Sandinist Defense Minister said he preferred not to refer to the internal affairs of Panama.

"You all know how Gen. Noriega acted, and it would not be right for me to prejudge him," Ortega said.

Arce Says U.S. Main Obstacle to Elections

PA0501172190 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1205 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Commander Bayardo Arce, Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] legal representative, sent a note to the four observers of the electoral process in Nicaragua on 4 January urging them, on behalf of the organizations that they represent, to end the war. The note, addressed to (Ike Balrussa) of the UN Observer Mission for the Verification of Elections in Nicaragua [ONUVEN]; Mari Gonzalez, of the OAS observer mission; and Jimmy Carter, of the Carter Center; states that the U.S. Government continues to be the main obstacle to the elections because it refuses to demobilize the contras, a necessary condition for ending the war. Commander Arce charged that UNO [National Opposition Union] members, supported by the contra actions, have launched repeated death threats, provocations, and slanderous statements against FSLN members throughout the country.

Arce recalled that he has urged the Supreme Electoral Council and the political parties to condemn these actions and join the FSLN in its efforts to put an end to the war. Arce added that UNO has been the only group that has refused to join in this effort. Arce also charged to the contras the death of two nuns in the area of the Nicaraguan North Atlantic, the ambush in Jinotega against Tomas Salgado Salinas—who was killed in the contra action, and wounds received by Griselda Lopez Montenegro. He also condemned the ambushes in Region One where an FSLN activist was killed and four were seriously wounded. Arce also charged Virgilio Godoy and the newspaper LA PRENSA with irrsesponible actions. Mocking the grief of the people in light of the killing of the two nuns, Godoy and LA PRENSA denied the contra's responsibility in this attack and in an brazen manner have accused the government of carrying out the attack. Commander Arce told the observers that UNO's armed political campaign, the killings, and the Nicaraguan people's grief must end, and that the Nicaraguan Government and Sandinist People's Army will guarantee the electoral process. He added that he hopes ONUVEN will do their part so that the U.S. Government will allow Nicaragua to hold elections in peace.

'Sources' on Possible Visas for 6 U.S. Diplomats

PA0801002390 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 2334 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Managua, 7 Jan (DPA)—Political sources linked to the Sandinist Government today hinted it is possible

that the Nicaraguan Government has authorized visas for six new diplomats at the U.S. Embassy in Managua.

The sources indicated that the authorization for new diplomats is on the basis of the Vienna convention, which permits the U.S. Government to have a minimum of 15 diplomats in its embassy.

Neither the Sandinist Government nor the U.S. Embassy in Managua (which is headed by a charge d'affaires) has issued an official statement on the reports circulating in Managua today.

Christopher Dodd, a U.S. senator who is in Nicaragua and on 6 January attended a campaign activity of the National Opposition Union (UNO), told several journalists that six new U.S. diplomats are going to arrive in Nicaragua in the next few days.

On 29 December, the Managua Government expelled 20 U.S. diplomats in reaction to a raid by U.S. troops on the residence of Nicaraguan Ambassador to Panama Antenor Ferey.

The Managua Government also decided to reduce the number of administrative personnel at the U.S. Embassy.

The sources added that after the Nicaraguan Government's decision to expel the 20 diplomats the U.S. mission was left with only nine diplomats. With the six that will reportedly join them soon, the U.S. mission would have 15 diplomats, the number which, according to the Vienna Convention, the United States should have in this nation.

Defense Minister's Letter to Electoral Council

PA0501231290 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 5 Jan 90 pp 1, 5

[Letter sent by Defense Minister General Humberto Ortega Saavedra to Dr Mariano Fiallos Oyanguren, president of the Supreme Electoral Council; dated Managua, 4 January]

[Text] Managua, 4 January 1990
Dr Mariano Fiallos Oyanguren
President of the Supreme Electoral Council

Dear Doctor:

I am writing to you in response to your letter dated 2 January 1990 in which you ask for an explanation of point 3 of the "Special Communique from the General Command of the Sandinist People's Army [EPS] - Defense Ministry" issued on 27 December 1989. In this regard, allow me to respond as follows:

1. The Special Communique from the General Command of the EPS - Defense Ministry issued on 27 December 1989 does not limit the rights and guarantees which are established in our Constitution and which are so important for the normal development of the electoral process scheduled to culminate on 25 February 1990 in compliance with Article 214 of the current electoral law.

It is quite to the contrary. The EPS and the Interior Ministry have taken the necessary measures to guarantee the country's security and to repel the counterrevolutionary forces so that the electoral process takes place with the necessary guarantees and security for the political parties participating in the elections.

This has been demonstrated throughout the entire electoral process up to now. Members of the EPS and of the Interior Ministry have shed their blood protecting this process against the attacks staged by the mercenary forces, which insist on sabotaging it.

I can categorically assure you that despite the current efforts by the mercenary forces increasing their terrorist actions, especially in the war zones, to sabotage the electoral process, the EPS and the Interior Ministry will continue to guarantee the necessary conditions for national security and order in the entire territory so that the electoral process will proceed according to the measures established by the Supreme Electoral Council which you chair.

2. According to the previous point, it is clear that point number 3 of the Special Communique of the Defense Ministry, already mentioned above, has absolutely nothing to do with the electoral process. As for the explanation of point number 3 of the communique, which you are requesting, I can tell you that the entire communique, including point 3, only has to do with the legitimate, special, and exceptional measures that would be required by the Nicaraguan Government for the defense of the fatherland in case of armed intervention.

With nothing else to mention, fraternally,
General of the Army
Humberto Ortega Saavedra, defense minister and commander in chief of the EPS.

Poll Shows Ortega Lead Over Chamorro Increasing

PA0601230690 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1922 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Managua, 6 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, presidential candidate for the ruling Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN], has increased his lead over his opponent Violeta Chamorro. According to a public-opinion poll, Ortega would win the presidential election if it were held today.

According to a survey conducted by Research and Opinion Polls [Estudios y Consultas de Opinion] (ECO), which supports the Sandinist government, 56.4 percent of voters would vote for Ortega, while Chamorro's popularity among voters decreased from 19.9 percent to 14.5 percent.

This same polling organization recently disclosed the results of another survey, conducted in October and

November, which said Ortega had 42.8 percent of the vote compared to Violeta's 19.9 percent.

However, ECO announced the results of another poll, conducted among 4,540 people from 18 to 22 December in 35 municipalities of the Pacific zone, in which the candidate of the ruling party increased his lead over his opponent.

The elections, being monitored by experts from the OAS, the UN, the "Carter Center," the "Center for Democracy" based in Washington, and the European Parliament, will take place on 25 February.

Also, the survey revealed that the percentage of people who will not vote dropped from 4.5 percent in November to 3.4 percent in December. According to the survey, the percentage of voters who will cast their ballots in February increased from 83.3 percent to 87.5 percent.

The public opinion polls also predict poor results for the other presidential candidates (eight) who, according to the survey, together will only get 2.8 percent of the vote.

Vice Minister Denies Cut in East European Aid

PA0601015690 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1221 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Vice Foreign Cooperation Minister Javier Bone has said that even though it is too early to see the extent of the political changes in the East European countries, their cooperation with Nicaragua will continue with the same intensity. Bone, a member of the Nicaraguan delegation to the 45th CEMA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] session, said that there is no doubt that last year's changes in the socialist countries will change their foreign cooperation plans for the next few years. When asked about the changes occurring in the socialist countries and their repercussions in Nicaragua, Bone said:

[Begin Bone recording] It is to early to evaluate in a responsible manner the impact that the changes taking place in the East European countries will have. There is no doubt that the changes that have taken place, changes the whole world has become aware of through the media, will have an impact. At this moment all we can say is that we continue to maintain our relations with the CEMA countries. We have mixed commissions with all those countries and meetings have been held. This meeting we will attend on 9 and 10 January, the CEMA annual meeting, will be an opportunity to evaluate the overall situation. [end recording]

Regarding the alleged suspension of aid to Nicaragua by some of the CEMA countries, the high-ranking Foreign Cooperation Ministry official said:

[Begin Bone recording] The only news I have heard—as a matter of fact I read it in LA PRENSA—is that the GDR has suspended aid to Nicaragua. This is groundless. As a government, we have received no official communication from the GDR stating that economic aid to Nicaragua has been suspended. Quite the contrary.

On 22 November, we held our ninth mixed commission meeting with the GDR. At that time we signed the 1990 cooperation agreement. It was agreed that three lines of credit in the amount of $50 million would be opened. This is what we have always received from the GDR. [end recording]

Cardinal Obando y Bravo Offers Voting Guidelines

PA0601021990 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 2300 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Nicaraguan Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo has urged the Nicaraguan people to vote their conscience. Cardinal Obando y Bravo said that one should not want to become president out of a thirst for power or wanting to improve social status.

Yesterday, 1 January, Cardinal Obando y Bravo vigorously called for respect for the people's will during the 25 February elections and called the people to vote with their conscience.

Let us listen to His Emminence Cardinal Obando y Bravo, who read the 10 [number as heard] basic points to exercise one's right to vote during his 1 January homily.

[Begin Obando y Bravo recording] 1. We believe it is the indisputable duty of each and every Nicaraguan to exercise the right to vote. Only serious and solid reasons could excuse a Nicaraguan citizen from fulfilling that duty.

2. To ensure that the vote is honest and responsibly cast, the voter must be well aware of the political program and the ideology of the party he or she supports as well as of the kind of people who lead that party. [applause]

3. Voters must analyze the aforementioned elements and the circumstances surrounding the voting process. Decisions must be made cautiously because it is not always possible to agree with all the ideas advocated by the party one supports. However, when the party's political program includes ideological commitments or operations affecting religious values or basic human rights, the faithful who vote must do so with their conscience and in accordance with his or her faith. [applause]

4. The ballot is secret. No one should know how one voted. That is why this is a personal decision which must be made with all due responsibility. For the Christian this responsibility is carried out by asking: What would Christ do if he were in my place? [applause]

5. Precisely because this is a personal decision, it must be done with full freedom. One must not accept campaigns of terror or threats from anyone to influence one's conscience. [applause]

6. Any kind of gift to influence voting is degrading. Conscience cannot be sold, it reflects one's thinking. [applause]

7. The main thing is the country's fate. While voting we must be thinking of what is best for Nicaragua and its development. One must not vote to defend selfish interests and ambition for power or social prestige. [applause]

Commission To Join in COMECON Session

PA0701173690 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Foreign Cooperation Minister Commander Henry Ruiz departed yesterday afternoon for Sofia, Bulgaria, leading the Nicaraguan commission that will participate in the 45th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, Comecon. Nicaragua, which holds observer status, is trying to fix a date for the 6th mixed session with Comecon. Sources consulted said that the 9 January meeting is important because it will analyze the situation that currently prevails in the socialist community as a whole. Nicaragua has participated in Comecon meetings as an observer since 1984, along with other Third World countries.

Health Union Says Panama Labor Heads Arrested

PA0701183290 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 0503 GMT 05 Jan 90

[Text] Managua, 4 January (DPA)—Nicaragua's Federation of Health Workers (FETSALUD) criticized today the fact that three important Panamanian union leaders were arrested during the U.S. troops' invasion of that country, and their whereabouts are still unknown.

According to the Nicaraguan union members' report, Mauro Murillo, secretary general of the National Central Organization of Panamanian Workers [CTRP]; Gustavo Martinez, assistant CTRP secretary of international relations; and Juvenal Jimenez, secretary general of the Chiriqui Banana Workers' Union were arrested by the invading troops.

FETSALUD reported that the headquarters of the Confederation of Peasant Settlements (CONAC) was raided by the forces that invaded Panama on 20 December, and four CONAC leaders were arrested.

The FETSALUD communique issued in Managua demands the immediate release of the arrested Panamanian labor union leaders and demands the support of human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International, the United Nations, the OAS, and other labor union organizations to exert pressure for the prisoners' release.

Contra Leaders Reportedly To Return to Managua

PA0701192090 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1805 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Managua, 7 Jan (DPA)—According to BARRICADA, the government's newspaper, nine Nicaraguan Resistance [RN] contra chiefs have announced their decision to accept the amnesty offered by the Nicaraguan Government since 1985 and will return to Managua on Monday, 8 January.

Nicaraguan Ambassador to Honduras Francisco Lacayo has confirmed the decision by the contra chiefs, and also include Luis Fley, "Commander Johnson," from the ranks of the anti-Sandinist rebels.

"This is an historic moment because this is the first group of contras who will return to Nicaragua to accept the voluntary repatriation and demobilization plan agreed upon in Tela," Francisco Lacayo, the Nicaraguan diplomatic representative in Honduras, said. The Nicaraguan diplomat revealed that the same decision made by Commander "Johnson" was also made by nine subordinates who are: Franklin Javier Mercado, "Josue;" Francisco Alaniz, "Jonathan;" Bayardo de Jesus Garcia, "Fuga;" Luis Raul Sandoval, "Camilo;" Morice de Jesus Cruz, "Minga;" Darwin Mairena, "Roberto;" Luis Emilio Metanco, "Johnny;" Pedro Jose Romero, "Mediano;" and Julio Cesar Delgado.

The talks between contra chiefs and representatives of the Nicaraguan Government began on 22 December. Commander Luis Guzman, President Daniel Ortega's special envoy; OAS representative Carlos Palau; UN representative Francois Fouinat; and Nicaraguan Ambassador to Honduras Francisco Lacayo, attended the meetings.

The now former contra chiefs have been given all the rights and guarantees established by the Nicaraguan Constitution. They have been given their passports, the right to choose their places of residence, guaranteed the right to move freely throughout Nicaragua, and all other rights of every Nicaraguan citizen.

The diplomat recalled that the former contra chiefs also have the right to join the political party of their choice and participate in the electoral process underway in Nicaragua. They will also be eligible for social benefits and the International Support and Verification Commission (CIAV) will be responsible for supervising that they are receiving these rights.

The Nicaraguan ambassador to Honduras also said that contra chief Indalecio Rodriguez has also said that he is willing to accept the amnesty plan and rejoin normal life in Nicaragua.

Nicaraguan Defense Minister General Humberto Ortega yesterday confirmed that talks were under way with several contra chiefs who had expressed their desire to accept the amnesty because they can no longer stand the friction among RN groups residing in Honduras.

Contras Reportedly Attack FSLN Vehicle

PA0501200790 Managua Sistema Sandinista Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] We have just learned that today at 1700, two vehicles in which Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] cadres were traveling in were ambushed by counterrevolutionary groups. The attack occurred in Region One, 1 kilometer from La Concordia, Jinotega Department. Roger Leonel Acuna Gonzalez, from Pueblo Nuevo, and Domingo Diaz, the driver of one the vehicles, were killed in the criminal attack. Wounded in the attack were Jeff Hernandez, FSLN campaign manager for Region One, and Rafael Raudez, ANDEN [National Association of Nicaraguan Teachers] regional secretary. Cipriano Galeano, a member of the ATC [Farm Workers Association] Regional Committee, broke his arm. ATC Organization Secretary Rafael Lobo and an unidentified driver received bruises. The FSLN has charged that this attack is part of a contra plan to attack FSLN cadres and targets that could influence the electoral campaign. Another FSLN cadre was killed today in Region 5. The FSLN this evening charged that these attacks, as well as the ambush of a vehicle in which nuns and priests were traveling in the Rosita mine area, are all part of the same contra plan.

Panama

Statements by President Endara on Key Issues

Endara on Canal Treaty, Economy

PA0501231990 Paris AFP in Spanish 1946 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Panama City, 5 Jan (AFP)—Panama will cease to be "a safe haven for drug trafficking and money laundering," Panamanian President Guillermo Endara has stated, noting that his government has asked the United States to fulfill the Torrijos-Carter Panama Canal treaties. The president made the statement 2 days after General Manuel Antonio Noriega, the deposed Panama Defense Forces commander, surrendered to U.S. authorities, who flew him to Miami where he will be arraigned on drug trafficking charges.

Regarding the interoceanic waterway, the president said that the treaties signed with the United States in 1977 contemplate the total return of the Panama Canal to Panamanian hands by 31 December 1999.

Also, Endara, who reopened the headquarters of the Chamber of Commerce and Industries, which was closed by Noriega's regime in 1988, made an appeal to Panamanian businessmen to prevent firing of their employees. "Now we must all sacrifice ourselves for the country," he declared.

The president, who was installed in power following the U.S. invasion on 20 December, made the appeal after meeting with some [word indistinct] workers of the business sector who staged a demonstration [words indistinct].

The president promised to coordinate a meeting with representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, thus managing to overcome the first labor conflict he has faced since he took office.

Endara said that just as the new government is supporting the businessmen, "they must also make sacrifices for their workers."

Also, the Labor Ministry appealed in a communique issued to businessmen and employees today to resolve their problems through direct dialogue."

On another matter, Endara said that a study is under way with the United States on an economic aid package to rebuild the Chorrillo sector in the southwestern part of the capital, which was destroyed by the U.S. Army during the invasion to overthrow Noriega.

It was also learned that the European Economic Community (EEC) and Japan will finance important programs for the new government, which were not announced in detail by the president.

Endara on Aid, Threatening Noriega

PA0501225690 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 1730 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Report on interview with President Guillermo Endara by unidentified reporters; date and place not given—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Endara] "The information I have from the nuncio is that Noriega turned himself directly in to the U.S. authorities and that he did not want to turn himself in to the Panamanian authorities. That is the information the nuncio gave me. This is the same information issued by the Apostolic Nunciature."

[Reporter] "Noriega's lawyers alleged...."

[Endara, interrupting] "I believe the nuncio, not Noriega's lawyers."

On government priorities Endara said:

[Endara] "We need to rebuild a free and progressive economy for Panama. We have to rebuild our economy, but we must do so with liberty, democracy, and justice."

[Reporter] "What steps will be taken to fight Panama's drug problem?"

[Endara] "The Panamanian Government and people are totally against drug trafficking; we are a country that respects our brothers in other countries. Panama does not want our brothers in other countries to suffer the drug scourge. This will not be a place for drug trafficking or for laundering money."

[Reporter] "What will be the policies toward Cuba and Nicaragua?"

[Endara] "Right now we have to sit down with our vice president, foreign minister, and other advisers to see what we are going to do. We will let you know once we decide."

[Reporter] "There are some differences between businessmen and insurance companies on whether there was a state of war or if there were vandalistic actions...."

[Endara, interrupting] "I know about that and this problem will be overcome through a good arrangement. I have asked Vice President Ford, who is minister of Economic Planning and Economic Policy, to get this started, and he is working on this program of seeking an agreement between...."

[Reporter, interrupting] "Will the Panama Government consider granting safe passage for the Noriega family to leave for Cuba.... [corrects herself] to the Dominican Republic?"

[Endara] "This has not been discussed yet. Definitely, this is something that needs to be disucussed at the government, Foreign Ministry level, and with the presidency. We shall do that, we shall do that."

On the subject of U.S. Government aid, Endara said:

[Endara] "We have a series of programs that are being looked at very favorably by the United States, as well as by the EEC and Japan...."

[Reporter, interrupting] "Could you outline what some of these financial programs may cover?"

[Endara] "These programs are being discussed right now. Minister Ford can give you more details."

[Reporter] "Mr President, General Noriega accused you yesterday in Miami of having threatened to invade the Apostolic Nunciature to get him out."

[Endara] "I have not talked to him so I could not have threatened him in any way. I have gone on record as saying he was not entitled to be at the Apostolic Nunciature, that he was a common criminal who did not deserve any sort of refuge."

Endara on Public Employees, Mrs. Noriega

PA0601013590 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2315 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] President Guillermo Endara Galimany has said that his government will consider granting a safe-conduct to Felicidad Sieiro de Noriega [Noriega's wife], who with daughters Lorena and Sandra has taken refuge in the Cuban Embassy in Panama City. Endara also referred to his government's international policy.

[Begin recording] [Endara] As everyone knows, ours is not only an economic, but a democratic policy to reconstruct our liberties. Our policy is also one of reconciliation among Panamanians. This has to be the work of all Panamanians without exception. This is a brief report on this subject.

[Reporter] The employees of the private businesses affected by the looting are very concerned over the possibility of their being fired. What will you do?

[Endara] Sorry to say, this decision does not belong with the government. We want all these decisions to be delayed as long as possible. All of the alternatives should be taken into consideration so this will not happen.

[Reporter] What have you to say regarding the public sector, Mr President?

[Endara] We are still offering reassurances to the public employees. These reassurances, however, cannot be enjoyed by those officials who have been harassing public employees through the Codepadi's [Committees for the Defense of the Homeland and Dignity] or the Dignity Battalions. These organizations repressed not only the general public, but the public employees as well.

[Reporter] What mechanism will your government use to start the country's economy on a forward path?

[Endara] We will use the personal effort of all of the Panamanians and, thanks to God, the aid of many friendly countries, such as the United States, the European countries, and Japan.

[Reporter] What about an invasion of the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Libyan embassies?

[Endara] I have not talked with my foreign minister on this matter. This subject will be analyzed carefully.

[Reporter] Will your government give a safe-conduct to Felicidad Sieiro de Noriega?

[Endara] We have not considered this. I will discuss it with the foreign, government, and justice ministers and maybe with the attorney general. [end recording]

Endara on Supreme Court Independence

PA0601000890 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] This afternoon Panamanian President Guillermo Endara Galimany swore in the new supreme court justices who will replace the previous magistrates who have resigned.

After President Endara swore them in, he addressed the new justices:

[Begin Endara recording] I take this opportunity to promise that the independence of the judicial branch will be respected by the executive branch, which I head. You will never find on my part any insinuation as to how this

judicial organ should behave. The history of the past, when the executive branch used to meddle in the affairs of the judicial branch, will never be repeated. The judicial branch's independence is sacred to us. [end recording]

Lawyers Carlos Lucas Lopez, Rodrigo Molina, and Rafael Trujillo Miranda will be in charge of the first civil chamber; Fabian Echevers, Jose Manuel Faundes, and Aura Emerita Guerra de Villalaz of the second penal chamber; and Arturo Hoyos, Edgardo Molino Mola, and Cesar Quintero Correa of the third administrative chamber.

Carlos Lucas Lopez addressed the president and the government minister and told them:

[Begin Lopez recording] We want to express our gratitude for this high honor bestowed on us. We know this is a big responsibility and you can rest assured that we will fulfill this responsibility. I also want to express my recognition for your appointment. You can rest assured that we will meet your expectations. Thank you. [end recording]

The new justices will have to be confirmed by the Legislative Assembly as prescribed in our constitution and they will hold their post for the remainder of the term of the former magistrates who resigned.

The president of the supreme court will be chosen later in a meeting of all the magistrates.

Snipers Fire at U.S. Troops in Parque Lefevre

PA0601014690 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 0054 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Snipers firing from condominiums tried to kill U.S. soldiers who were patrolling the city today. At approximately 1100, a group of snipers posted in adjacent buildings opened fire on U.S. soldiers who were guarding the area, but no one was reported killed or wounded.

The incident occurred at the corner of Santa Elena and Ernesto T. Lefevre Avenues in the Parque Lefevre corregimiento of the capital city. U.S. soldiers who were patrolling the city and who were posted at the gas station, which is on the corner of the avenues mentioned above, were fired at with medium and large caliber weapons from the Marta Estela condominium located a few meters from the area. The U.S. soldiers deployed immediately throughout the area and surrounded that condominium as well as the Coliseo building, which is next door. They opened fire on the rooftops of both condominiums, where they saw dark-skinned individuals wearing black sweaters who jumped from one rooftop to the next. On this occasion, the attackers were able to escape through the back of the buildings, mingling with the civilians who live in the neighborhoods just behind the structures. The U.S. soldiers picked up the empty cartridges of the bullets that were fired.

Col. Eduardo Herrera on Role of New Public Force

PA0601012290 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2321 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Panamanian Public Force Commander Colonel Eduardo Herrera has said that no officer involved in the violation of human rights and in acts of corruption will belong to the Panamanian Public Force.

[Begin recording] [Herrera] We are working jointly with the U.S. forces so that our forces can soon take control of our city to provide the Panamanian people with the necessary protection.

[Reporter] Colonel Herrera, what are the characteristics of the new Public Force in contrast with the former Defense Forces? What will be the role of the Public Force in the new democratic era Panama is living in now?

[Herrera] The Public Force must be respectful and honest so that it can have the respect of the people.

[Reporter] When will the Public Force be finally reorganized so that it can start providing the Panamanian people with the necessary protection?

[Herrera] The reorganization is a little slow because there are still some elements in the streets whom we have been unable to arrest. I believe, however, that the Public Force will be in control of the situation in one or 1 and a half months from now.

[Reporter] How many members do you have in Panama City right now?

[Herrera] We are still in the midst of the reorganization process. We do not have the exact number of casualties, desertions, expulsions, etc. I believe we will have an exact number this weekend.

[Reporter] Do you have a message for the Panamanian people?

[Herrera] I believe we are living in a new era of peace, fraternity, and justice, which is what the Panamanian people longed for. [end recording]

Government Strips Noriega of Rank, Honors

PA0501224090 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1951 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Panama City, 5 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—Panamanian Vice President Ricardo Arias Calderon today announced that the Panamanian Government has demoted General Manuel Antonio Noriega and has revoked all his titles, rank, and honors.

Eighty-one officers were also retired or discharged, including all the members of Noriega's general staff at the time of the U.S. invasion on 20 December.

Arias said that Eduardo Herrera, as of yesterday chief of the new Public Force, has been promoted to colonel.

Herrera replaced the also retired Colonel Roberto Armijo, who resigned after 12 days in office because the government is investigating his personal finances.

Aristides Baldonedo, today promoted to lieutenant colonel, has been appointed new deputy chief of the Public Force.

In 1988, Herrera and Baldonedo were involved in an attempt to oust Noriega. Following the attempted coup, Herrera remained in exile and Baldonedo in prison.

Cabinet Council Retires, Discharges Officers

PA0501225590 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2059 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] The Cabinet Council, making use of its legal powers, announces the retirement of the following officers: Colonel Leonidas Macias, Colonel Guillermo Wong, Major Guillermo Urriola, Major Abdiel Lamboglia, Captain Vicente Vasquez, Captain Miguel Angel Quijada, Captain Norman Martinez, Captain Temistocles Duarte, Captain Carlos Gonzalez Pinto, Captain Cristobal Camero, Captain Fabian Rodriguez, Lieutenant Luis Barcacia Adames, Lieutenant Adolfus Hall, Lieutenant Carlos Rivera, Lieutenant Erasmo Serrano, Lieutenant Fernando Din Schwartz, Lieutenant Prospero Quintero, Lieutenant Benedicto Bustamante, Lieutenant Cosme Manuel Rivera Salinas, Lieutenant Arquimedes Gomez Rios, Lieutenant Heriberto Arauz Figueroa, Lieutenant Luis Carlos Ceballos, Lieutenant Arnulfo Valdes, Lieutenant Jose Isabel Santos Adames, Lieutenant Armando Sinisterra, Lieutenant Alexis Betancourt, Lieutenant Jorge Valdes Bernal, Sublieutenant Antonio Varela, Sublieutnant Agustin Diaz Cedeno, Sublieutenant Patrick Sanchez, Sublieutenant Roman Santamaria, Sublieutenant Jorge Alberto Pineda, Sublieutenant Jose Manuel Delgado, Sublieutenant Hermes Escudero, Sublieutenant Agustin Riquelme, Sublieutenant Lucio Herrera Gondola, Sublieutenant Luis Martinez, Sublieutenant Arquimedes Caballero, Sublieutenant Esteban Sam, Sublieutenant Toribio Cerda, and Sublieutenant Camaliel Maison. The ones we have mentioned will be retired. They include Colonel Leonidas Macias and Guillermo Wong.

The Cabinet Council also announces the definitive separation of the following officers: Colonel Marcos Justines Fernandez, Colonel Alberto Purcell, Colonel Angel Mina Justiniani, Lieutenant Colonel Luis Cordoba, Lieutenant Colonel Nivaldo Madrinan, Lieutenant Colonel Pascual Gonzalez, Lieutenant Colonel Teodoro Alexander, Lieutenant Colonel Rafael Cedeno, Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Delgado Diamante, Lieutenant Colonel Aquilino Sieiro, Lieutenant Colonel Luis Del Cid, Lieutenant Colonel Arnulfo Castrejon, Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Arosemena King, Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Velarde, Lieutenant Colonel Virgilio Mirones, Lieutenant Colonel Anibal Maylin, Major Jose Hilario Trujillo, Major Eduardo Elias Gutierrez, Major Guy De Puy Barranco, Major Federico Olechea, Major Cleto Hernandez, Major Humberto Melada, Major Manuel Sieiro Murgas, Major Francisco Porras, Major Jesus Rick Arrocha, Major Carlos Alberto Saldana, Major Mario Del Cid, Major Heraclides Sucre, Major Gonzalo Gonzalez, Major Severino Mejia, Captain Julio Vallejos, Captain Luz Maria Llorente, Captain Abilio Pilides, Captain Nander Pitty Alvarado, Captain John Pimento.

This is according to the Cabinet Council communique issued a few minutes ago, which announced the definitive separation of officers, including Marcos Justines, Alberto Purcell, Col Angel Mina Justiniani, Lt Col Luis Cordoba, Lt Col Nivaldo Madrinan, Lt Col Pascual Gonzlez, Lt Col Teodoro Alexander, Lt Col Rafael Cedeno, Lt Col Daniel Delgado, Lt Col Aquilino Sieiro, Lt Col Luis Del Cid, Lt Col Arnulfo Castrejon, Lt Col Carlos Arosemena King, Lt Col Carlos Velarde, Lt Col Virgilio Mirones, Lt Col Anibal Maylin.

The definitive separation was also announced of the majors we have mentioned already and of Captain German Gonzalez Pitty, Captain Moises Cortizo, Captain Ramon Diaz De Leon, and Captain Asuncion Gaitan.

[signed] Cabinet Council, President Guillermo Endara Galimany, Vice President Ricardo Arias Calderon, and Vice President Guillermo Ford

The Cabinet Council also announced the demotion and discharge of Manuel Antonio Noriega.

Lieutenant Colonel Eduardo Herrera Hassan was also promoted to the rank of colonel of the Public Force [FP] of Panama. Majors Aristides Baldonedo and Fernando Quesada were promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel of the FP. For the purpose of their time in service in their positions, they will be credited with the time that has elapsed since the time of their discharge during the dictatorship of Noriega. This time, however, will not be counted for the purpose of their retirement. Lieutenant Colonel Eduardo Herrera Hassan is appointed FP chief and Lieutenant Colonel Aristides Baldonedo is appointed FP deputy chief.

List of Arrested Officers, Civilians Given

PA0601035390 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2347 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Here is a preliminary list of persons under arrest, totaling 83 [as heard]; 23 of them have been released, while 60 remain under arrest. Later we will give more names.

Lieutenant colonels: Virgilio Mirones Pinzon, Aquilino Siero Murgas, Pascual Gonzalez de Leon, Anibal Antonio Maylin Arevalo, Reverend Carlos Antonio Velarde Carrillo, Lorenzo Francisco Purcell, Rafael Cedeno, Arnulfo Castrejon Garcia, and Daniel Delgado.

Lieutenants: Juan Basilio Caicedo Mideros, Rogelio Borisoff Yau, Edgardo Alberto Morales Sanchez, Andres

Rodriguez Hernandez, Esteban Gabriel Ramos Martinez, Ruben Aurelio Bulgin, Benajamin Gu Sanchez, Generoso Valenzuela Caceres, and Eliecer Chavarria.

Colonels: Marcos Pedro Justines Fernandez, Alberto Purcell, Angel Alberto Mina Justiniani.

Majors: (Fitz Edwards Gibson Parris), Rodrigo Colon Sanchez, Ruben Alfredo Rodriguez Sierra, Guy de Puy Barranco, Manuel Siero Murgas, Felipe Camargo Amaya, Marcio Herazo Amores, Jose Hilario Trujillo Mendez, Porfirio Caballero, Lucinio Miranda Moreno, Humberto Melara Morales, Mario Del Cid Gomez, Severino Mejia Mosquera, Jesus Ritz Arrocha, Francisco Porras, Cleto Hernandez, Arturo Marquinez, Eduard Rolando White Escou, Ricardo Guardia, Victor Herrera, and Carlos Alberto Saldana Gonzalez.

Captains: Eloy Guillermo Cruz Simmons, Luz Llorente, Clarence Manuel Green Cedeno, John Pimento, Moises Cortizo, Ivan Esteban Castillo, Alidio Santiago Ardines, Luis Alcibiades Quiel, Nino Armando Bprio Montenegro, Camilo Vega, Demetrio Rodriguez Gutierrez, Tomas Ricardo Gracia, Alvarado Nander Pitty, Ramon Eduardo Diaz de Leon.

Civilians: Gustavo Melgar Fadul, Delia Maria Rivera de Melgar, Teofilo Charles Ballesteros, Rafael Mesquita, Ricardo Eugenio Paredes, Eusebio Pedroza, Rigoberto Paredes, (Taliton Torres), (Carla Migdalia Reynolds), Alberto Luis Tunon Nunez, Jose Maria Chaverri Amado, Abelardo Val Castillo, Gabriel Gaby Diez Pola, Eloy Enrique Mercado Pitty, Felix Aurelio Guardia Frauca, Jose Domingo Quintero Noriega, and Alberto Pons.

As we said later, we will give more names of top officers and civilians under arrest.

Cuban Journalist Luis Manuel Martinez Arrested

PA0701202090 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2000 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Panama City, 7 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—According to sources close to the Panamanian Government, Cuban journalist Luis Manuel Martinez, staunch defender of overthrown Gen Manuel Antonio Noriega's regime, was arrested today by Panamanian police forces.

According to the sources, Martinez was arrested by members of the Public Force and U.S. soldiers while walking down a street in downtown Panama City. Martinez had been seen and recognized and the sighting was reported to the local authorities.

ACAN-EFE went to several Public Force police stations to inquire about the arrest; however, we were told that they are not aware of the arrest.

In Panama, Luis Manuel Martinez used his "Today in the World" newspaper column and television program, broadcast on the government's official television station, to harshly criticize the Panamanian political opposition (today in power) and campaign in favor of Noriega.

Before residing in Panama, Martinez worked for Fulgencio Batista, in Cuba, and Anastasio Somoza, in Nicaragua, where he survived the Sandinist attack on the Legislative Palace.

Arrest of Former Panama City Mayor Requested

PA0601002390 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] This afternoon acting Mayor Guillermo Cochez asked the attorney general to conduct a preventive arrest of former Mayor Jilma Noriega de Jurado. Cochez disclosed details of the reason for this measure.

He also announced that he received $10,000 donation from the Swiss Bank for the reconstruction of El Chorrillo neighborhood.

[Begin Cochez recording] We went to the farmers' market today to close down a gas station authorized by former Mayor Jilma Noriega de Jurado. This station had been operating illegally since 1986. We did this because the municipality was collecting $122 in rent for that station when the correct amount should have been more than $3,600. In other words, Dona Jilma was charging for 1 month what she should have charged for 1 day. Approximately $140,000 has been lost in this deal and the Shell Company, Dona Jilma, and the concessionaire are responsible for this theft of municipal funds. [end recording]

Mayor Cochez also referred to measures he has taken regarding a note sent to Attorney General Rogelio Cruz.

[Begin recording] [Cochez] We also found out that for 3 years—we have pertinent confessions for this and we will send this case to the attorney general on 5 January—taxes were collected in advance in January. Half of the amount collected per day would wind up right here in the office of the mayor. In other words, if $20,000 were collected, $10,000 would go to the treasurer of the municipality and the other half would be put in a bag and sent here to the mayor's office.

[Reporter] What is expected of the attorney general?

[Cochez] He will summon the former mayor, perhaps today, and it is possible—although I will not meddle in the attorney general's work—that he will order Dona Jilma Noriega de Jurado's preventive arrest for fraudulent acts reported by this office today. [end recording]

Cochez also received a $10,000 donation from (Hans Horzbosch), coordinator of Swiss Bank Corporation, for the project to rebuild El Chorrillo neighborhood.

Noriega's Godson Reportedly Organizing Guerrillas

PA0601003490 Panama City EL SIGLO in Spanish 4 Jan 90 p 15

[Report by Francisco Bosquez Franco]

[Text] A resident of Tole, Chiriqui Province, has told this newspaper that Manuel Antonio Noriega's godson, Carlos Santiago Castillo, is organizing a guerrilla group in the Tole area, with the backing of Otilio Miranda.

Castillo, who is the son of the pernicious Immigration Director Belgica Castillo, now in refuge at the Apostolic Nunciature, called his former comrades-in-arms to gather at a place called "Cerro Sombrero" in order to organize as guerrillas and wreck havoc in all Chiriqui Province, the informant said.

The source added "this individual is in hiding, but that Roberto Pinzon and Oriel Santamarias, secretaries of the paid assassin [Miranda], know that he is hiding very near the place the guerrillas are planning the murders. [sentence as published]

The informant added that Carlos Santiago Castillo made a fortune with Noriega's and his mother's illegal businesses, which gave him the means to take possession of nearly all of Tole.

Mr Juan Castrellon had all his land expropiated together with all his cattle and farm belongings.

Bodyguard Denies Nuncio Issued Noriega Ultimatum

PA0601153490 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1351 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Panama City, 6 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—Captain Asuncion Eliecer Gaitan, chief of General Manuel Antonio Noriega's personal bodyguards—who is still at the Apostolic Nunciature in Panama City—has said that Gen. Noriega surrendered to the United States "of his own free will," and that the Vatican never gave him an ultimatum to abandon the nunciature in Panama City where he had sought refuge.

"It is not true that the nuncio gave the general an ultimatum," Gaitan told ACAN-EFE today, thus denying various versions according to which Noriega abandoned his place of refuge because the nuncio threatened to hand him over to the U.S. troops or the Panamanian authorities.

Gaitan's statements clarified a complex problem considered by the Vatican to be of great importance because the existence of an ultimatum would cast a doubt on the principle of asylum the Holy See defended during the time that Noriega was at its diplomatic mission.

According to Gaitan, before coming downstairs to give himself up, Noriega told him: "I am going to choose the best solution to this situation, the most convenient solution, I am choosing the legal solution."

Shortly after Noriega's arrival in Miami, a high-ranking U.S. official at the White House said that Noriega had surrendered because the nunciature had planned to expel him from the mission the next day.

According to Gaitan, the nuncio promised Noriega "never to turn him over (against his will) to the U.S. Army because of its invading Army status."

Gaitan believes that Noriega decided to surrender of his own free will "after talking with his U.S. lawyers," and "after realizing the existent external pressure (against his remaining in Panama)."

Gaitan commented that Noriega "believes he can clear himself of the drug trafficking charges" that several U.S. courts have brought against him. [passage omitted on previously filed material]

ETA Refugees Could Get Residency Status

PA0501195490 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1716 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Panama City (ACAN-EFE)—Panamanian Foreign Ministry sources said today that the government is willing to grant new residency status to the four ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Organization] members who have been seeking refuge at the Apostolic Nunciature since the beginning of the U.S. military intervention.

Julio Linares, new Panamanian foreign minister, is studying the issue to determine what status to grant them. He is keeping Spanish Ambassador Tomas Lozano Escribano informed about the matter.

Lozano told ACAN-EFE that "Spain does not object to the Panamanian Government's granting them a status" although he stressed that in talks with the Foreign Ministry "we are merely keeping abreast of the proceedings."

Lozano said, "it is up to President Guillermo Endara's government."

The four ETA members at the nunciature are Miguel Angel Ardana, Juan Carlos Arriora, Juan Jose Aristizaga and Koldo Zaralegui, who is accompanied by his wife, Yane Idigoras.

Nunciature sources said that as soon as the Panamanian Government has decided on their status, they can return to their residences in Panama without being arrested by U.S. troops.

A group of Spanish newsmen who visited the nunciature for the first time since the U.S. invasion saw several of the ETA members in sport clothes reading in various parts of the building.

The nuncio, Spanish Archbishop Sebastsian Laboa, born in Pasajes de San Juan (Guipuzcoa) explained that the ETA members had sought refuge at the Vatican Embassy, "because they were passing through Panama,

without documents, due to an agreement signed (5 years ago) between Spanish President Felipe Gonzalez and the Panama Defense Forces."

Laboa said "they came here because they thought something might happen to them "during the U.S. military intervention."

Since Noriega has left the nunciature and surrendered to U.S. troops, the ETA members are now in refuge with Captain Eliecer Gaitan, who is seeking asylum in Spain, and two other Panamanian civilians who held posts in the former regime.

A nunciature source said that "they live by themselves" and "hold only formal conversations" with the other guests at the nunciature.

Member of Canal Board of Directors Resigns

PA0501201290 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 5 Jan 90 p 1

[Letter from Oyden Ortega Duran to Panamanian citizens on his resignation as member of the Panama Canal Commission Board of Directors on 3 January]

[Text] Panama, 3 January 1990

Message to Panamanian citizens:

I use this means to announce my decision to resign as a Panamanian member of the Panama Canal Commission Board of Directors, functions which I carried out by bearing in mind the best interests of the fatherland.

As a Panamanian who loves peace and dialogue, I believe the U.S. Government's military intervention against Panama constitutes a violation of important principles of international law.

I am forced to tender my resignation because of the aforementioned situation, as well as the U.S. Government's unilateral decision to temporarily close the Panama Canal despite the U.S. Armed Forces' obligation, on the basis of the canal treaties, to cooperate with the Republic of Panama to guarantee the uninterrupted and efficient operation of the canal.

We believe the country's current situation demands the reconciliation of all Panamanians. We are sure that responsible individuals will work for this objective, which will benefit a vigorous participatory democracy.

Oyden Ortega Duran

Identification Card Number 8-126-900

U.S. Lifts Shipping Restrictions

PA0801032490 Panama City Circuito RPC Radio in Spanish 1254 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] The restrictions that the U.S. Government imposed on Panama have been lifted. As a result, all Panama-registered ships are now permitted to dock at U.S. ports, Guillermo Marquez, director general of the Consular and Shipping Directorate, told this radio station. He also reported that, as a result of the decision made at the Cabinet Council meeting, the ships that had been removed from the Panamanian registry can now be re-registered during this year, free of charge.

[Begin Marquez recording] The U.S. Government has officially announced that all measures imposed on the Panamanian Government have been lifted. As a result, all Panama-registered ships are now docking and will continue to dock at U.S. ports. As a consequence of the U.S. measures, approximately 570 ships were either already removed from Panamanian registry or their owners had requested permission to remove them from this registry. These 570 ships represent 11 million tons of displacement. This is a considerable number of ships, and the removal of these ships represented a considerable decrease in the revenue received by the Consular and Shipping Directorate.

Fortunately, however, the Cabinet Council yesterday issued a very positive decree according to which all Panama-registered ships that had been removed from this registry after the United States announced its measures against Panama can be registered back in Panama without paying a single cent. These ships can now be re-registered. These ships, which will pay nothing in 1990 as the result of the decree, will start to pay their registration dues in 1991. Consequently, although we lost 1 year of registration dues from these ships, we will make sure a good number of these ships are registered back in Panama so they can pay their dues in 1991. [end recording]

Regarding the decreased revenue in the institution as the result of the measures imposed by the U.S. Government, Marquez said this:

[Begin Marquez recording] This directorate experienced a persistent decrease in its revenue during this year. In other words, the decrease was steady. The announcement of the U.S. measures resulted in an even greater decrease as the result of ships being removed from the Panamanian registry. The positive effects of the lifting of the U.S. measures are already being felt. A number of shipowners, who had already started the procedure to remove their ships from the Panamanian registry, have reported that they have stopped these procedures and will not remove their ships from Panamanian registration. [end recording]

EEC Mission Visits, Offers Aid

PA0601012690 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] A mission of EEC diplomats, interested in giving aid to the economic reconstruction plans promoted by the government, has offered its support for the government of President Guillermo Endara. Enzo Montano, president of the special EEC mission, along with top

European commissioners, expressed their views at the Panamanian Foreign Ministry.

[Begin recording] [Montano in progress] ...on aid, and how one can help, and how are things developing in general, and how is the political life and the diplomatic life, as all their ambassadors are to be be changed. These ambassadors will gradually be replaced by other ambassadors in our countries. We talked a little bit about everything.

[Reporter] What message will you bring to the EEC?

[Montano] First thing, the minister [not further identified] will organize a meeting with experts to see how the EEC can help Panama. There will be a special meeting with experts to discuss with what and how we can help Panama.

[Reporter] What is your view on recent developments in Panama?

[Montano] Developments? No comment. These are very serious and sad incidents that will have an impact in the country's life; perhaps they could have been avoided if General Manuel Antonio Noriega had left before creating this disaster. [end recording]

The president of the EEC mission was optimistic about the future of the country.

[Being Montano recording] The situation is calmer. The danger of Noriega no longer exists, and so the government can work with more calm, stability, and achieve recovery at a faster pace. [end recording]

FRG Ambassador Returns; Offers Support, Aid

PA0701174690 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Ambassador Gotz von Boehmer said today that the FRG will give all possible support to the Panamanian Government so that it succeeds.

[Begin von Boehmer recording] I returned to Panama this morning after a 4-month absence. My first greetings go to the new Panamanian Government, a truly democratic government. I sincerely hope that this government will be able to achieve the country's political, moral and economical reconstruction. My government is interested in cooperating with this government and my prompt return to Panama is proof of my government's interest in cooperating. I also hope we can offer some kind of assistance toward the country's reconstruction, but at this time I cannot give precise details. [end recording]

University Dean on Invasion, Student Reaction

PA0601175790 Panama City Circuito RPC Radio in Spanish 1155 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Interview with Dr Edgardo Molino Mola, dean of the Panama University Law School and newly-appointed magistrate to the Supreme Court of Justice by an unidentified reporter; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Molino] I appreciate the opportunity given to me by RPC Radio. I would like to congratulate RPC Radio because during the dictatorship it became a bulkwark for freedom of speech and one of the country's most conspicuous fighters for democracy. I believe that what we have today we owe in large part to the media, such as RPC television and radio.

I believe that we had a private army. The problem was that we did not have a national defense force, defense forces for Panama, what we had belonged to Noriega. It was the commander's private army and was serving, exclusively, his own interests and not the country's interests. Moreover, people here speak of intervention, but the FDP [Panama Defense Forces] was full of foreigners. The FDP and the misnamed Indignity Battalions [as heard] had Libyans, Cubans, and Nicaraguans. What could be more of an invasion? The fact is that an invasion had already taken place by Libyans, Cubans, Israelis, Nicaraguans. You saw the newspaper report where more than 300 Nicaraguans, part of the Dignity Battalions, fled through Costa Rica. We, therefore, were already invaded by a multinational group of, I repeat, Libyans, Nicaraguans, Cubans, and Israelis. I sincerely believe that the Panamanian people have been very lucky because we have been able to eradicate the cancer that the FDP had become.

I hope that the new Public Force or new national guard will be used exclusively as traffic police or national police, and that we never again have an army the way we had. It is true that we need policemen, people to help with the traffic, people for other police type matters, and also people to defend the canal. I propose that the canal be fully neutral and protected by a multinational group made up of various Latin American countries. This will keep us from having an army that, as we have seen-....[changes thought] Take the case of Pinochet. He says he is not leaving because he needs to protect his men. These are not Chilean men, these are not Chilean Army men, they are Pinochet's men. See for yourselves how these men consider themselves owners of the Army and the Army is not really the people's army, the country's army, or the nation's army; instead, it is the commander's private army. I think most countries should examine this closely because this is what is happening.

Regarding Noriega's refuge in the Vatican Embassy, I have been nominated as Supreme Court magistrate, which I have accepted. We are waiting for the president to make the announcement official. Therefore, I cannot comment on Noreiga because if that case reaches the Supreme Court, I would be barred from ruling on it.

[Reporter] What about the student's reaction to our country's invasion. There are various student organizations within the university that have defended for some time the country's sovereignty and nationality, particularly in the law school. What can you say?

[Molina] There is no doubt that this invasion affects Panamanian sovereignty, but the National Guard also affected the Panamanian sovereignty by having Libyans, Nicaraguans, Cubans, and Israelis. Sovereignty was violated by using the guard to squash and beat the Panamanian people. But those who have come here have not come to gain territory or to subjugate the Panamanian people, on the contrary, they came to liberate it from a disgraceful dictatorship. I believe these are two very different things. Sometimes we are better off not following doctrinal concepts too closely, but instead, rather accepting the reality we are living. The reality was that we had a foreign invasion of Libyans, Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Israelis, who along with the dictator, were violating Panama's sovereignty and were trampling and oppressing the Panamanian people. Those who came from abroad came to free the Panamanian people. The best proof is how well those U.S. soldiers are being received here, the same way they were received in Paris when the North Americans freed the French who were being oppressed during World War II by the German Army.

I believe that we must fully understand this question of reconciliation. Reconciliation does not mean we are going to forget the crimes committed. This country has not seen justice in many years. The light of justice was turned off and this country was living in darkness. We are going to light the lamp of justice, all those who we can prove committed crimes are going to receive due process for injustices committed against the country. Those who are innocent can be absolutely certain that they will remain innocent, but the guilty will be punished with all the law's severity.

Leftist Groups Demand University Reopening

PA0601035590 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 1730 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] University Professor Daniel Atencio, leader of the Authentic Association of University of Panama Professors, said that university leftist groups are demanding the reopening of the university to create chaos and sow confusion.

[Begin Atencio recording] That is precisely one of the concerns of the Authentic Association of University of Panama Professors. Generally speaking, the university leftist groups have always demanded the closing of the university for unjustified reasons. Although we all know that a certain group of professors and university administrative personnel have Dignity Battalion members within their ranks, and although we all know that there are weapons on the university campus, on this occasion, nevertheless, the leftist groups are demanding a prompt reopening of the university.

We are concerned because we lack the necessary security to protect professors, students, and our administrative personnel. [end recording]

Intellectuals Protest Invasion

PA0501161590 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1356 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Report by Marisol Marin]

[Text] Panama City, 5 Jan (ACAN-EFE)—Although most Panamanians hail the U.S. invasion, all of the nation's schools, including the National University, have suspended classes for fear of clashes. Some leftist intellectuals are beginning to express their criticism publicly.

University professors told ACAN-EFE that it is highly improbable that the the universities will reopen their doors while the U.S. troops are still here, in order to avoid student protests.

Besides, the U.S. troops have not only placed tanks at the National University and the Catholic Santa Maria University campuses, but they have installed a General Headquarters at the School of Public Administration at the former.

Rector Abdiel Adames was one of the first in condemning "firmly and categorically, the brutal military aggression" the very first day of the invasion.

The Student Association of the National Institute, Panama's most important high school, also harshly protested. The National Institute has also been turned into a garrison by the U.S. troops.

The students have sent a letter to Education Minister Ada de Gordon, asking her to seek "the withdrawal of the Yankee troops from the school installations because their presence is humiliating and degrading to the Panamanian martyrs and to the school itself."

Carmen Miro, director of the National Science Institute stressed that, "many citizens are furiously opposed to the invasion and the present government," which she labeled as a "de facto government because of the way it assumed power."

The new government of President Guillermo Endara took office after the U.S. military intervention, but claims that it is legitimate on the basis of the 7 May elections, which according to all observers were won by Endara and subsequently annulled by Noriega.

Miro believes that "protests will begin in the country once the Panamanians see that their expectations for freedom, democracy, and well-being, resulting from the U.S. Army's invasion, are not coming true."

Carmen Miro does not justify, but "understands" broad sectors' applause of the U.S. soldiers as "a liberation army."

"But, after all," she added, "they have come to destroy a monster which they created and let get out of control."

The U.S. responsibility in promoting General Noriega, who headed the Defense Forces since 1983, is also stressed by Marco Gandasegui, sociologist and university professor.

Gandasegui said that Noriega was, in the past, "a trusted U.S. ally," who controlled a military institution "which was trained and equipped by the United States to protect its interests."

According to Gandasegui, Noriega's "sin" was "trying to achieve an autonomy from both from the United States and the civilian power."

This was what reportedly forced the United States to opt for the creation of a new defense forces.

Gandasegui predicts that the Public Force which is being organized by the United States "will be a copy of the old defense forces," conveniently purged, "so as to organize Panama in line with the U.S. interests."

Jose Eugenio Stoute, also from the University of Panama, said that if the opposition had led a "national insurrection" against Noriega, the invasion would not have occurred "becase the defense forces were already divided as was shown by the successive coup attempts."

"The opposition," which is currently in the government, "did nothing to find solutions. It only waited for the arrival of the saviors. It did not risk anything," Professor Carmen Miro added.

Journalists, Businessman Return From Exile

PA0601035790 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2320 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Businessman Roberto Eisenmann and journalists Guillermo Sanchez Borbon and Alfredo "Wilfi" Jimenez returned from exile today. The three arrived aboard a Copa airline flight, which landed at Tocumen Airport at approximately 1430 today. Nevertheless, they were welcomed by relatives, friends, and fellow party members at the Atlapa Convention Center because entrance at the international airport is restricted. The three newsmen were cheered by those present. This station heard Sanchez Borbon's first utterances in the homeland after a long time.

[Begin recording] [Sanchez Borbon] I am very moved with my return to the country. So much time has passed. [words indistinct]

[Reporter] Will you resume your journalistic activities?

[Sanchez Borbon] Yes, maybe not as before, but I will continue to work as a newsman, however.

[Eisenmann] It is difficult to express with words what I feel upon returning after nearly 4 years. Now we have to construct, look forward to the future with hope, and devote our time to construction. [end recording]

Near Atlapa, friends of the three men held an issue of THE MIAMI HERALD, which carried on its front page a picture of ex-General Noriega holding identification reading "U.S. prisoner number 41586." In addition, "Wilfi" Jimenez made an appeal to journalistic common sense.

[Begin Jimenez recording] We should now unite and join forces to start the tremendous work of reconstructing this country. We all should leave these mean things aside. We journalists, in particular, have the duty to conduct whatever deals with public opinion in the most correct and constructive manner possible. Any other type of journalism should be absent from this country. [end recording]

Civic Leader Aurelio Barria Returns

PA0801143190 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA in Spanish 7 Jan 90 p 20

[Text] "What happened in Panama is a reality that we must view as a thing of the past; however, we must not forget what happened so that it will never happen again," were the words expressed to EL PANAMA AMERICA by Civic Crusade leader and businessman Aurelio Barria, who has returned to Panama following the fall of Manuel Antonio Noriega's regime, after having spent over 2 years in exile.

Referring to the U.S. invasion of Panama on 20 December, he said that "it had to be done because it was the solution that would end Gen Noriega's dictatorship," which had done so much harm to the Panamanian people.

"A great deal of work must be done to rebuild the country, but if we join forces, we will achieve success in Panama," which has advanced enormously in its search for freedom and democracy, Barria said.

The Panamanian people should refrain from making demands because this is not the moment for political opportunities, it is the time to find out what each of us can do for Panama, which is all that really matters right now.

The civic leader said that his immediate plans are to gradually return to daily work at his businesses and to bring his family home as soon as possible.

Gen Noriega's fall means that the Panamanian people have won and that good has triumphed over evil, which is very important because it represents a new beginning. We are now faced with the great task of rebuilding the destruction left by the regime, Barria said.

Barria also said that the opening of the Chamber of Commerce headquarters, which was closed for 688 days, is very significant for all who in one way or another struggled to regain democracy in Panama. "The Panamanian people cannot sit down and cry at this moment; we must move forward and build a new Panama," Barria concluded.

SITIRHE Union Chief Returns

PA0601024990 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2324 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Isaac Rodriguez, secretary general of SITIRHE [Union of Workers of the Institute of Hydraulic Resources and Electrification], arrived this morning in the country after being in exile for over a year. In his first remarks to the press, he said that he has already held talks with the IRHE [Institute of Hydraulic Resources and Electrification] general management regarding the reinstatement of 300 employees dismissed by the previous government.

[Begin recording] [Rodriguez] I want to say that we come with the best intentions because the fatherland requires agreement among its best citizens so it can be rebuilt. We say that we come with the best intentions because we believe that only with the participation of all sectors, in an open, harmonious, and very honest manner, with respect for all the legal, labor, and constitutional laws in the country, can we achieve our goal and can the people of Panama feel satisfied.

I bring a number of concerns, which I will express later in a more open manner once I become better informed of the situation. I do not want to give an opinion, which may be misunderstood, based on views or comments I learned in another country. I want to know what has happened. I will consult with the people and the workers on a number of measures. Then I will give my opinion on the situation.

[Reporter] What is the fate of 300 employees dismissed by the previous government?

[Rodriguez] We just had a meeting with the IRHE manager. We are very satisfied with the talk we held because it was based on the respect needed between union and management. We have been told that these workers will be gradually reinstated. In the next days, the workers in Chiriqui, Cocle, and Veraguas provinces will be reinstated. [end recording]

Authorities Take Over Carlos Duque Company

PA0601231690 Paris AFP in Spanish 2121 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Panama City, 6 Jan (AFP)—The corporation Transit S.A., owned by Carlos Duque, president of the Democratic Revolutionary Party [PRD] and close aide of Manuel Antonio Noriega, has been taken over by the authorities, businessmen reported today.

Duque, presidential candidate in the 7 May elections, was also the manager of Televisora Nacional [Channel 2], which also has been taken over by the new government.

Transit S.A., which imports and exports general merchandise, operates in the Colon Free Zone, approximately 130 km northeast of Panama City.

Jaime Mizrachi, the president of the Association of Colon Free Zone Users, today confirmed to LA PRENSA the "takeover" of Transit S.A. by the government. The corporation has been accused by anti-Noriega businessmen of charging up to $20,000 for using its influence in business deals. This money was then allegedly used by the company to support the PRD.

The Colon Free Zone lost approximately $72 million as a result of the looting of Panama City and Colon stores in the first 2 days of the U.S. invasion that began on 20 December, Mizrachi said.

Government Takes Over Radio, Television Stations

PA0801152990 Panama City Radio KW Continente in Spanish 1327 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Edwin Cabrera, new director of the National Directorate of Social Communications Media, has said that all the media laws will be revised because the current laws respond to the needs of a dictatorial regime. The new director added that a list of radio and television stations under government control has been drawn up and that they will be investigated. These radio and television stations are:

—Radio America and Radio Ritmo—owned by Rodolfo (Popito) Chiari [former government and justice minister], henchman in suppressing freedom of expression during the Noriega regime; Ruben Dario Murgas, Mario Rognoni, and Aaron Cohen, a Jew who lives in Chitre and Democratic Revolutionary Party [PRD] treasurer in Herrera Province, are co-owners of these radio stations;

—Radio Musical—owned by Nestor (Juan Carrete) Icaza;

—Radio Monumental—owned by Manuel Solis Palma, alias Penca, the infamous persecutor of teachers and partner in the drug traffickers' Universidad del Istmo and Correspondence School [Universidad a Distancia], which was disclosed in leaflets that have been distributed;

—Radio Poderosa—in Aguadulce, owned by Italo Rojas and drug trafficker Carlos Duque, friend of Noriega and PRD presidential candidate;

—Estereo Rey—owned by Mario Rognoni and Ruben Dario Murgas;

—Estereo Festival—owned by Boris Moreno, Sr., Boris Moreno, Jr., and Targidio Bernal, former deputy government and justice minister during the Noriega regime;

—Radio Tic Tac—owned by paramilitary Rigoberto Paredes; and,

—Channels 2 and 5 [Televisora Nacional and Telecinco Television].

Concerning the status of reporters affected by the intervention with these radio and television stations, Director Cabrera said that he will meet with the affected reporters and study the matter.

Radio Soberana Returned To 'Rightful Owner'

PA0801121990 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA in Spanish 7 Jan 90 p 20

[Text] After 10 years in the wrong hands, Radio Soberana, now called Radio Soberana Civilista, has been returned to its rightful owner, Alonso "Bucho" Pinzon. Radio Soberana began broadcasting for the first time in 1967 and is now back with "more power and ready to serve democracy," according to the words of its owner.

According to its owner, the Government and Justice Ministry and the Presidency of the Republic have expressed their approval of and satisfaction over the return of the radio station to its rightful owners.

Two Pro-Noriega Radio Stations Destroyed

PA0701220890 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 2119 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Panama City, 7 Jan (DPA)— The transmitters of the radio stations Radio BB and Onda Popular, the latter owned by Ramon Siero, the brother-in-law of deposed General Manuel Antonio Noriega, were set on fire today by unidentified individuals.

A spokesman for these radio stations said that three individuals arrived in a white car at the facilities of both stations, located in the same sector on the outskirts of the capital, and proceeded to destroy all the equipment, which caused the two stations to go off the air.

Radio BB is owned by Andres Vega, a well-known and popular commentator who from the beginning identified himself with the regime headed by General Omar Torrijos Herrera and subsequent governments, including the one under Gen Manuel Antonio Noriega.

Recently, U.S. troops had raided these installations searching for weapons and supporters of the previous regime.

Two Newspapers Begin Publication 5 January

PA0601002890

[Editorial Report] Two Panama City newspapers, EL PANAMA AMERICA and CRITICA LIBRE, appeared on the newsstands for the first time on 5 January. The editorial boxes of the two newspapers both report that they were originally founded by Dr Harmodio Arias Madrid in 1938; give their address as Avenida Fernandez de Cordoba, Vista Hermosa, Panama City, Republic of Panama; and list the following directors: Rosario A. de Galindo, president; Gilberto Arias, vice president and secretary; and Ignacio Mallol, general manager. The postal address is Apartado B-4, Panama 9A, Republic of Panama, and telephone numbers are 61-2300 and 61-9128.

The full-sized EL PANAMA AMERICA, as the paper is described in the masthead and inner pages, sells for 25 centavos. The masthead reveals that the 5 January 1989 edition is "Issue No.1, 2d era." The editorial box lists Melida Sepulveda as the director and Cristobal Sarmiento as the chief editor of this "independent newspaper." EL PANAMA AMERICA expresses its opposition to the former military regime in Panama and carries an editorial condemning the OAS for its inaction on the Panama issue and supporting the U.S. military operation in Panama (filing). The paper carries reports attributed to the AFP, DPA, and ACAN-EFE news agencies. No copyright notice or political columns appear in this premiere issue. An unattributed column of newsbriefs entitled "Panama's Pulse" appears on the front page. A similar column under the same name appeared earlier in the Panama City newspaper YA, which was shut down by the Noriega regime several years ago.

The masthead of CRITICA LIBRE, a tabloid-sized paper that also costs 25 centavos, proclaims that it is "tops in circulation." Its inner pages say CRITICA, but the masthead and editorial box on page 4 say CRITICA LIBRE. The newspaper carries reports attributed to the news agencies ACAN-EFE, EFE, AFP, DPA, and UPI, but—unlike its predecessor, CRITICA—the new CRITICA LIBRE does not carry any news items or reports from PRENSA LATINA, TASS, or INTERPRESS SERVICE. The columns by CRITICA sportswriters Bienvenido Brown, Ponchas Mendoza, and Mario Milciades Molina have reappeared in the new CRITICA LIBRE, but none of the old CRITICA political columns are present, such as the "Political Coliseum" column by Noriega supporter Baltazar Renan Aizpurua or the "Famous Letters to Tula" column by leading Communist Party member Carlos Changmarin. The only political column that appears in this premiere issue of CRITICA LIBRE is "Public Gathering" (Tertulia Libre) by Donatilo Ballesteros S., which previously appeared in the Panama City newspaper YA.

The 5 January issue of CRITICA LIBRE carries an explicit photograph on the front page of bodies in a morgue and several of its reports are sensational in nature, giving the impression that the paper plans to maintain the sensational style of its predecessor. CRITICA LIBRE does not carry any copyright notice. The editorial box identifies the editorial staff as Antonio Diaz, director, and Professor Rafael A. Harris Y., chief editor.

Newspapers Urged To Halt Verbal War

PA0601021690 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2300 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Media Director Edwin Cabrera today reported that his office has addressed a note to two local newspapers telling them to tone down their mutual accusations, which are detrimental to national reconstruction.

[Begin Cabrera recording] We are very concerned over and regret that during this week two local newspapers have started a verbal war. This fight does not at all facilitate national reconstruction. More than physical, this reconstruction is moral. Today we addressed a memorandum to the directors of the two papers telling them to stop this. This dispute does not at all facilitate national reconstruction. We in the government think that the media should act as instructors of the society. [end recording]

New Freedom of Speech Exercised in Commentaries

'Criminals' Statements in Media Rejected

PA0601175490 Panama City EL SIGLO in Spanish 4 Jan 89 p 10

["Period...and That's It" column by Jaime Ortega: "Enough!"]

[Text] Panamanians, as the saying goes, are "nice people;" however, there is a limit to everything. We want to make it clear from the beginning that we are not moved by political revengefulness and much less by passion. However, some media have been consciously or unconsciously carrying interviews with several common criminals who have no right to express their opinion after what has happened in our fatherland.

What toppled it was a telephone conversation with [former Panama Defense Forces Colonel Roberto] Diaz Herrera, a common criminal, from Caracas, Venezuela. He commented on the situation of depraved Noriega. How cynical of a man who publicly declared that his private mansion in Panama was acquired with the money he received from the poor Cuban refugees who, in the long run, should be given that house once the courts become operational in Panama. In addition, he must explain to the legal authorities how he managed to buy a luxurious apartment in Caracas and a country house on a salary of 1,500 balboas.

[Jose I.] Blandon, one of Torrijos and Noriega's adulators, would not be able to withstand an audit of the mispending of the Panamanian people's money while he was general manager of the IRHE [Institute of Hydraulic Resources and Electrification]. He knew many secrets concerning the Panamanian people which could be considered grave crimes. However, today he feels as if he had bathed in the Jordan and is free of sin. [Yolanda] Pulice de Rodriguez [president of the Electoral Tribunal], who will be tried, according to reports published in local newspapers, should also be asked to recount the votes of the 1984 elections in order to give the late President Arnulfo Arias Madrid justice.

We are sure that if asked to, she would do it without blushing, admitting that another mistake had been made. By the way, what has become of Electoral Tribunal Magistrate Murgas Torraza?

We do not want to mention any more names because the list would be endless. However, our government of national reconstruction should carefully study the names and actions of all those who will hold positions of high responsibility in the Judicial Branch because one rotten apple spoils the rest. I repeat, we are not calling for revenge or vengeance. However, we ask the media not to present those individuals without explaining that, in most cases, they are confessed criminals. Otherwise, we will be forced to present the names and "curriculum vitaes" of all those who are interviewed. Enough, gentlemen!

Period...and that's it!

'No Forgiveness Without Repentance'

PA0601202090 Panama City EL SIGLO in Spanish 4 Jan 90 pp 1, 15

[Editorial: "Reconciliation or Impunity?"]

[Text] The flock of gamblers who have made deals with the nation's grief and dignity are trying to evade their unpardonable penal transgressions, sheltered by the generous and broad spectrum of reconciliation the new government is offering.

Drug traffickers, pillagers of public funds, accomplices of human rights violations, pirates who attacked political parties, torturers, sadists, rapists, those who closed newspapers, writers for the radical and anachronic left, henchmen, and squealers who directly or indirectly supported the satrap of the fort's tragic and corrupt regime by action or omission, will not pass through the fine sieve of objective justice. The umbrella is not large enough for that many people.

I do not believe I have misinterpreted the healthy—not naive—intentions of the new leaders, who have set the limits of their reconciliatory offer within the boundaries of respect for public morals and the observation of laws. To do the contrary, to allow the extension of credentials of impunity to jailers who ordered the sexual abuse of men and students accused of waving white handkerchiefs, who shot people at point-blank range and tore out the eyes of unarmed students, to pass so many curs—who filled their pockets while a people languished from hunger—through the purifying waters of a deceitful forgiveness, to extend, in short, a brotherly hand to the madmen who committed murder and beat heads and bodies, would simply be an invitation for them to attempt to repeat their crimes at the most unexpected moment.

There can be no forgiveness without repentance. Those who have violated the constitution and the laws and massacred the defenseless sons of an unarmed people, still seem far from repenting. On the contrary, they take pride, with sordid boastfulness, in their alleged influence over the past regime and the new one. They recklessly give assurances, as in the case of the criminals who annulled the elections without any legal justification, that their power and capacity to do damage is untouched.

Coercion is a basic ingredient for the fulfillment of laws. Stability cannot exist in a regime of freedoms where the violation of laws is not adequately punished. Thus, upon expressing the basic desire of an entire people who do not want revenge, who do not want vengeance because they are not demanding the eye for an eye which the satrapy applied to excess, EL SIGLO will not hesitate to warn of the dangers involved in the deplorable example of overlooking so many crimes and failing to punish them, which could force this extremely peaceful people to take justice into their own hands.

The attorney general, in whose righteousness and clear sense of justice and fairness (jus and equus), I fully trust....has the final word.

'Justice' Demanded for Noriega Cohorts

PA0801040190 Panama City EL SIGLO in Spanish 5 Jan 89 p 4

[From the "Relampagos" column by Luis Ardines P.: "Noriega's Surrender"]

[Text] One of the most painful and dramatic chapters in the history of the Panamanian people ended when Manuel Antonio Noriega surrendered to the U.S. Armed Forces.

Noriega, called the dictator, abandoned his refuge at the nunciature and turned himself in to the U.S. authorities in Panama, who immediately flew him to the United States where he will be tried for a number of crimes, the most serious of which will surely be related to drug trafficking.

According to witnesses of the events that took place early on 20 December and which resulted in hundreds of dead and wounded, Noriega, called Panama's strongman, did not fire a single shot and instead sought refuge immediately, trying to save his neck.

Noriega, called the head of the government, with powers greater than those of the provisional president he himself had appointed months earlier after annulling the 7 May 1989 elections—thus mocking the will of the majority of the Panamanian people—is now alone in a U.S. prison cell. After amassing a fortune of millions upon millions of U.S. dollars, he is alone and without the power of money.

Nevertheless, Noriega, the dictator, the strongman, and the head of the Panamanian government, did not act by himself in the tragedy that the Panamanian people have experienced in the past years, much less since the beginning of the nefarious regime that he headed. Many people who supported him must now bear their share of responsibility. Justice will deal with them because they abused their posts to become rich without measure and to live the lives of millionaires while the common people struggled with poverty, misery, and suffering.

More Action Urged

PA0801034990 Panama City EL SIGLO in Spanish 6 Jan 90 p 2

[Editorial: "May the Government Govern"]

[Text] Ten days after the proclamation of the new Panamanian government of democratic reconstruction, the country has not yet felt the weight of the administrative hand leading the nation in its new courses.

Nobody expects everything to be done in 1 week, but we need to see an example of what is being done. There is nothing preventing the government from governing. The monster is in a safe place and his henchmen are too busy trying to save what is left of the loot. Neither the Dignity Battalions nor the CODEPADIS [Committees for the Defense of the Fatherland and Dignity] will dare do anything as long as the U.S. armored vehicles continue circulating through the city. We believe the money that was frozen has started to enter the Panamanian Treasury, and millions of tons of food, medicine, and clothing have arrived in the country. The media still surprisingly in the hands of the enemies of democracy have momentarily silenced their intoxicating uproar. The Panamanian people resolutely support and trust the democratic government. The Panamanian people want their government to consolidate, strengthen, and govern.

That is the only reason for the painful and self-sacrificing struggle that brought mourning to thousands of Panamanian homes. That is the reason why the people went into the streets to challenge over and over again merciless Noriega's hordes of murderers. The people want a government that governs in their behalf. There is, therefore, no reason—or at least none that we can see for the time being—why the government the Panamanian people elected on 7 May cannot feel the continuing support and goodwill of the people, who are waiting for heroic measures that start off the engine of national reconstruction. To talk about national reconstruction is not enough. National reconstruction must begin.

The unavoidable disagreements between the political parties comprising the Civic Democratic Opposition Alliance and the logical aspirations of their legitimate spokesmen and representatives must be left aside, giving way to the more important task of reconstructing Panama, of lifting Panama off the ground and making it walk. The new government must not hesitate in using its immense popularity and that of its allies of the Civic Crusade to request the participation and contribution of

all Panamanians' talent and experience in this unpostponable task of social and economic reconstruction. We achieved that right with blood, and we sealed it with a new generation of Panamanians. Our children and grandchildren deserve it.

May the government govern then. And may it start right now.

Suggestions Given for Police Force

PA0601175690 Panama City EL SIGLO in Spanish 3 Jan 90 p 2

[Editorial: "What Sort of Police Force Should We Have?"]

[Text] In our editorial of 2 January, we suggested a few ideas which seemed pertinent to us on demilitarizing the country, and we offered a few examples on how police and security forces work in democratic countries.

We understand perfectly well how the recent situation rapidly deteriorated, causing such great chaos that it would have been difficult to criticize certain appointments, which truthfully, have been made too hastily.

Now, with the situation calmer and knowing what we do not want, we can and should make efforts to avoid past mistakes, the most serious of which is the lack of foresight.

The alternatives for choosing our civilian authority lie more than anything else in defining their work.

The inadequate definition of civilian work is, in our minds, the seed for excesses. When these excesses are concentrated in one person we have a dictatorship, the prelude to a tyranny.

It is not easy to define and outline police work. It is, however, possible and our rulers and the rest of society should have this perfectly clear: Democracy, which on its own is not a system of government, can and should give us the basic guidelines for forming a police force.

We should, however, also establish the rules and democratic virtues that best fit our national reality, and naturally, we should periodically review them in order to avoid obsolescence and to make timely readjustments whenever they become necessary.

Once we establish the social and cultural virtues that should supposedly work within our reality, we can then create the institutions of authority aimed at working in specific areas, with a specialized police, whose work should never again include bondage and torture, but instead, would encourage everything having to do with public security and the welfare of all citizens.

Argentina

Relations With U.S. Said To Be 'Excellent'

PY0501141090 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1330 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 5 Jan (TELAM) — Presidential spokesman Humberto Toledo today stated that "relations between Argentina and the United States are currently excellent."

The spokesman was asked about yesterday's lunch meeting between Chief of State Carlos Menem and U.S. Ambassador Terence Todman at Government House.

Toledo said that Interior Minister Julio Mera Figueroa and Public Works and Services Minister Roberto Dromi also participated in the meeting, during which they evaluated topics of national and international interest.

The spokesman emphasized that Menem and Todman also evaluated the mechanisms for "strengthening relations, which are currently excellent."

Ambassador on 'Disagreement' With U.S.

PY0501220090 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 2030 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 5 Jan (DYN)—Guido Di Tella, the Argentine ambassador to the United States, has stated that the "disagreement" that ensued between Argentina and the United States over the Panamanian situation during the arrest of General Antonio Noriega, who was ousted, "has been explained."

Di Tella added: "The United States was not surprised by the Latin American reaction. The United States believes that Latin America reacted with moderation, as Argentina did."

Di Tella said that when he returns to Washington on 12 January, he will "personally reassert" Argentina's position, that he will "go to the State Department and personally explain everything that has already been said in writing."

Menem Signs Decrees To Privatize Phone Company

PY0701223390 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 6 Jan 90 p 1

[Text] (DYN)—President Carlos Menem yesterday signed decrees establishing the privatization of the state-owned telephone company ENTel, which will be divided into various areas to be awarded to four different stock companies.

The decrees rule that the urban area will be awarded to two different companies which will be given licences to operate the services in their respective districts.

The other two companies will be awarded the international service and the free competition service respectively, the decrees ruled.

They added that the awardees must reserve 10 percent of their shares for the personnel and five percent for the cooperatives.

The second of the decrees sets up the north and south areas and the third decree establishes the rules for setting up the licensee companies.

Public Works and Services Minister Jose Dromi spoke during the signing ceremony and stated that the privatization of ENTel was in response to public demand as well as to the will of the Legislative and Executive powers and was part of the plan to efficiently reform the state structure.

He added that the call for tenders will be implemented in the coming week while the awards will be made before June 30.

The plan has come under fire from the FOETRA telephone workers' union which is planning a work stoppage next Monday beginning at 10 am with a march and demonstration at the ENTel offices to protest the privatization as well as to demand higher salaries.

Union press secretary Sergio Dobarro said that his group is in favour of "a state telephone company and an efficient monopoly" and demanded the payment of back salaries.

Menem Undergoes Test for Stomach Ailment

PY0501163890 Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 1500 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] We reiterate a report on a gastrointestinal ailment that President Carlos Menem suffered last night. The president underwent a medical checkup at the Institute of Diagnosis and was then released. This morning he resumed his activities at the Olivos residence, where he is still working.

Military Wages Placed in Public-Sector Category

PY0801131490 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 0930 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 6 Jan (NA)—This month military personnel will receive a 30,000-austral advance for January, and from now on they will receive the same wage increases as public employees, since the Armed Forces will henceforth be included in the public-sector wage policy, according to a government resolution.

This was reported last night by Economy Minister Antonio Erman Gonzalez, following a meeting with the Armed Forces chiefs of staff and Interior Minister Julio Mera Figueroa.

During the meeting they agreed that the Armed Forces will present a new pay policy which is already being

studied by the finance secretariat. On the basis this policy, a wage recovery timetable will be prepared, including special compensations for duty in remote regions and other specific additional bonuses.

The public-sector wage scale will be approved for the present quarter once the December 1989 inflation rate is known.

The meeting took place in the Economy Ministry yesterday, with the participation of the Chiefs of Staff General Isidro Caceres of the Army, Brigadier Jose Julia of the Air Force, and Rear Admiral Jose Ferrer of the Navy.

Prior to yesterday's meeting, several preparatory meetings were held with the participation of Defense Minister Italo Luder.

It was known that the military chiefs discussed the subject with specific examples of the evolution of wages during the second half of 1889.

The wage evolution was not equal for all categories. For example, between July and December last year, the wages of a brigade general or of a rear admiral increased 16.5 percent. Thus, the take-home pay for that rank was 520,000 australes [no period specified] by the end of 1989.

During the same period, the wages of corporals increased 165 percent, and their take-home pay, after legal welfare deductions, was 140,000 australes by the end of the year.

This unequal evolution of wages may be observed by comparing the wage scales from the first to the last category.

In 1983, when democracy was reestablished, the relation between the salary of a corporal and a division general, brigadier general, or admiral, ranged from 1 to 8.5. This ratio was reduced to 1 to 3 last year.

Another example is that the 1989 Armed Forces budget was equal to 0.56 percent of the Gross Domestic Product [GDP], while the historical average of this relationship ranges from 1.3 to 1.4 percent of the GDP.

1989 Budget Approved by Congress

PY0501134490 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1114 GMT 5 Jan 90

[All figures as received]

[Text] Buenos Aires, 5 Jan (NA) — The executive branch has approved Law No 23,763 through which Congress has approved the 1989 national budget.

The budget was approved on 4 January and it totals 3,911,686,766,000 australes. It shows an effective savings of 86,895,000,000, according to Decree No 1,623/89.

Here is an outline of the expenditure:

General Administration	446,121,319,000 australes
Defense	381,533,958,000 australes
Security	135,449,103,000 australes
Health	117,146,894,000 australes
Culture and Education	303,972,764,000 australes
Economy	1,315,801,010,000 australes
Social Welfare	622,405,613,000 australes
Science and Technology	90,905,787,000 australes
Public Debt	585,445,318,000 australes

Cocaine Seized, Traffickers Arrested

PY0601143490 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2013 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 5 Jan (TELAM)—An operation carried out today in the Palermo neighborhood of this capital resulted in the seizure of 3.5 kg of pure cocaine, packed and ready for sale.

Personnel of the Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs Department raided Apartment B on the first floor of 2544 Bulnes Street in Buenos Aires on the orders of Judge Amelia Berraz de Vidal. This case is linked to the well-known "Fontana-Tiraboschi" affair.

Two Bolivian pilots, both approximately 30 years old, were arrested. They flew on the Santa Cruz de la Sierra-Buenos Aires (where they left some of the drug)-Switzerland route. The police also seized documents and $5,000 in forged U.S. dollars, pounds sterling, and other foreign currencies.

This operation followed a raid carried out last night at the Tramps coffee shop at Bulnes and Libertador Streets, where two drug traffickers were arrested and 1 kg of cocaine seized.

It has been learned that these cases are linked to the arrest of drug traffickers Cristian Nacht and Andres Guida, aka Rulo, who are involved in the "Fontana-Tiraboschi" affair.

Bolivia

Relations With U.S. 'Exceptionally Positive'

PY0501141890 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Interior Minister Guillermo Capobianco has said that relations between the Bolivian and the U.S. Governments are exceptionally positive, that they are marked by total understanding, and that both countries share common objectives in the struggle against drug trafficking.

The minister thus answered a question at Government House yesterday about the conditions imposed by the U.S. Government in connection with the coca farm eradication targets.

Capobianco did not give a specific answer when asked about the suspension by the U.S. Government of disbursements following the failure by Bolivia to meet the deadlines and to replace the agreed area of coca farms, as established by the coca replacement plan.

In 1989, 2,300 hectares of coca farms were replaced. This has displeased the U.S. Government because under the terms of the bilateral accord Bolivia should have replaced 5,000 hectares of coca farms per year. This situation led the United States to suspend a disbursement of $12-million.

The Interior Minister said this issue will be analyzed at the meeting of the presidents of Andean countries with George Bush in Cartagena de Indias, where the chiefs of state will consider the provision of funds and the overall strategy against drug trafficking. This problem will probably be properly solved at the presidential meeting, which will be held in February.

He concluded by saying that the government of President Jaime Paz Zamora hopes to solve all the technical problems and meet the obligations assumed in connection with the eradication and replacement of coca farms.

Preparatory Meeting for Summit Announced

PY0501125490 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Mauro Bertero, the minister of agriculture, livestock, and campesino affairs, has said that the government hopes to eliminate drug trafficking in line with international cooperation guidelines. He added that at the technical meeting scheduled for 11 January in Santa Cruz, Colombian, Peruvian, Bolivian, and U.S. representatives will exchange views on the struggle against this scourge.

Betero said that Bolivia will propose the eradication of this evil through methods that will avoid social conflicts, taking into account the high number of peasants and other citizens who are involved in this activity.

The minister noted the importance of the first meeting, which will outline the positions that will later be submitted to the presidents of the nations involved, including the U.S. President. [passage omitted]

Summit To Analyze Military's Role

PY0701214390 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0218 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] La Paz, 5 Jan (EFE)—Army Chief of Staff General Jorge Moreira today said that the issue of the Army's direct participation in the antidrug struggle will be decided on at the antidrug summit scheduled for the Colombian city of Cartagena in mid-February.

Moreira said that Bolivian President Jaime Paz would probably introduce the subject of including the military in the antidrug struggle. He also pointed out that the Bolivian Army, Air Force, and Navy are prepared to cooperate in the antidrug campaign, which is one of the Bolivian Government's objectives.

Moreira stressed the importance of the summit, which will be attended by Colombian President Virgilio Barco, Peruvian President Alan Garcia [as received; Garcia has said that he will not attend] U.S. President George Bush, and Bolivian President Jaime Paz Zamora. The presidents will analyze the so-called "Bennett plan" that will be submitted by the U.S. delegation. This plan provides for an increase in military and economic support to the three Andean countries. A joint document will be approved during a 10 January preparatory meeting in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 900 km east of La Paz.

The Bolivian Armed Forces will indirectly participate in the antidrug struggle, which is conducted by the "antinarcotics forces" made up of the Mobile Units for Rural Areas [words indistinct] technical and logistic support of the military.

Bolivia and Peru are among the main coca leaf producers in the world. Coca leaves are used for cocaine processing.

President Paz Zamora Denies Cabinet Crisis

PY0601010890 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2127 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Excerpt] La Paz, 5 Jan (EFE)—Bolivian President Jaime Paz Zamora denied today the rumors of a Cabinet crisis and confirmed the members of his Cabinet during their official New Year's greeting.

According to unofficial reports a Cabinet reshuffle on 15 January would include the change of Information Minister Manfredo Kempff, Health Minister Mario Paz Zamora, and Education Minister Fernando Baptista Gumucio.

Paz Zamora thanked his aides, who have been with him from the start of his administration on 6 August 1989. He reiterated to them his confidence in their work. The official greetings were also attended by high military and

police officials, ministers, and ambassadors accredited in La Paz. They all wished the president a happy new year. [passage omitted]

Brazil

U.S. Urged To Demonstrate 'Merit' of Invasion

PY0601192890 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 5 Jan 90 p 4

[Editorial: "Open Commitment"]

[Text] General Manuel Antonio Noriega's surrender should not mark the end of the so-called Operation Just Cause. U.S. troops have not only captured the Medellin Cartel's ally, the man who offered that international drug ring the most valuable support. They have captured the sovereignty of a nation that was used to help drug trafficking.

Even if it had been a spectacular accomplishment, executed as rapidly as planned, Noriega's arrest would not mean that justice has been done. Law and ethics demand that success be distinguished from merit.

Success may frequently be a mere victory by force. This is what the operation ordered by President George Bush sought in the beginning. Merit, however, is always linked to virtue, morals, or politics. The merit of this operation must now be substantiated, so that the operation will be worthy of the name President George Bush gave it.

The OAS, which lamented the U.S. operation while abstaining from formally condemning it, immediately realized the difference between success and merit. The UN Security Council also realized it. The Vatican, which through its spokesman Joaquim Navarro Vals termed the U.S. presence in Panama an "occupation," also realized this difference.

Therefore, President Bush's commitment to Panama still has to be fulfilled. This commitment is not necessarily linked to what will happen to Gen. Noriega after he faces the Florida federal courts.

The U.S. President expressed his intention to see democracy restored in Panama. He has overcome one of the obstacles for this restoration by ousting Noriega, who had overthrown Eric Delvalle and ignored the May election returns that elected Guillermo Endara president and who had transformed the Panamanian Armed Forces into a pretorian guard emblematic of his caudillo and bandit rule. However, several other obstacles must be overcome before the Panamanians can restore democracy in their fatherland themselves, as it should be.

One of the obstacles that still has to be overcome is the Panamanian economy, which has been crumbling as a result of an unusual combination: Noriega's flagrant disregard for rules, law, and order; and the economic sanctions imposed on Panama by the United States. This combination had been punishing the Panamanian people, although it had not touched Noriega.

Another obstacle is U.S. policy on Central America and the Caribbean. This policy should be reviewed and modernized. There is now a sense of urgency in both cases: Washington must dissipate the atmosphere of constraint [constrangimento] its military action created in the continent.

This atmosphere will only be dissipated if the events that take place in Panama from now on prove that the U.S. military action was an exception to the usual U.S. policy toward the hemisphere. This exception would have to be as unique as the Noriega dictatorship has been. This is imperative because it would make no sense to create a satellite country in Central America similar to those that have just met their end in Eastern Europe.

New Armed Forces General Staff Chief Sworn In

PY0601024490 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Today President Jose Sarney swore in General Jonas de Moraes Correa Neto as new EMFA [Armed Forces General Staff] chief to replace Admiral Walbert Lisieux Medeiros, who has retired.

During the ceremony at Planalto Palace, President Sarney noted the role played by the Armed Forces during the democratic transition. [passage omitted]

The new EMFA chief said that he was against the creation of a defense ministry in Brazil, a proposal which had been included in President-elect Fernando Collor's electoral platform. He said that Brazil had chosen to have separate but harmonious Armed Forces and that he saw no need for any changes. [passage omitted]

Rio de Janeiro Drug Trafficker Arrested

PY0601022890 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 1500 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] In Rio de Janeiro, the police have arrested one of the city's main drug dealers, Celso Luiz Rodrigues, alias Celsinho in Vila Vintem. The police have been looking for him since Operation Smashed Car last year.

During Operation Smashed Car, the Federal Police, both civilian and military, searched Vila Vintem in western Rio de Janeiro, looking for Celsinho. At that time, the police found 5 kilograms of cocaine, five guns, and lots of ammunition, but they did not arrest the drug traffickers. Yesterday afternoon, Celsinho was located at a farm in Nova Frigurgo; he was with his family and did not resist arrest. Celsinho is one of the major drug dealers in Rio de Janeiro and controlled narcotics sales in the west part of the city.

In 1986, Celsinho was sentenced to 12 years in prison for drug trafficking and to 6 years for theft of trucks. Since June last year the police have been looking for him in

Vila Vintem. According to the police, Celsinho's arrest is a blow to drug trafficking in Rio de Janeiro, since the large drug traffickers like (Cid) of the Jacari Hill Slum, Escadinha of the (Juramento) Hill Slum, and Denis of the Rocinha Hill Slum are serving terms in the maximum security prison of Bangu. The police will now initiate investigations to arrest Isaias of the (Boel) Hill Slum, who is the only major Rio de Janeiro drug trafficker who has not yet been arrested.

Chile

Aylwin To Keep Carabineros, Air Force Heads

PY0501213090 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Air Force Commander in Chief General Fernando Matthei and Carabineros Director General Rodolfo Stange today greeted President-elect Patricio Aylwin. Matthei announced that he will remain in his post for another year.

Early today the president-elect began working on the details of his future cabinet. Matthei visited Aylwin for 1 hour, beginning at 1000. After the meeting, the Air Force commander in chief said that he will remain in his post for another year.

[Begin recording] [Matthei] The Air Force will strictly comply with its professional duties, in keeping with the Constitution, with the law, and with the instructions from the next government, because the government uses the Armed Forces—among them the Air Force—for the defense of the nation.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Matthei] During the conversation, the president-elect said that he would be very pleased if I could remain—provided I wanted to—in the post of Air Force commander in chief and that this would be good for the stability of the country and for the full consolidation of this new administration. I therefore decided to remain in my post at least for another year. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Minutes later, Gen Stange arrived at the house on Arturo Medina Street. Stange was accompanied by a delegation of Carabineros generals. Matthei had also brought a delegation on his visit.

[Begin recording] [Stange] I will remain director general of the Carabineros. The president-elect told me that he would be pleased if I remained in my post.

[Reporter] For how long, General?

[Stange] Look, I believe the Constitution mentions a 4-year term; we will see later.

[Reporter] Did you and the president-elect address institutional issues?

[Stange] We addressed the general issues that are usually analyzed in this type of meeting. Other details will be considered in the future. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Minister on Noriega Surrender, Endara Government

PY0601005890 Santiago Radio Cooperativa Network in Spanish 2200 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Foreign Minister Hernan Felipe Errazuriz has said the Foreign Ministry has not made a decision to recognize the new government in Panama.

[Begin recording] [Errazuriz] Our position regarding the situation in Panama has not changed. We continue to study the situation. We have not decided to recognize the new government yet.

Regarding the situation of General Noriega, we take his surrender as a personal decision. We do not judge it. The decision to try him is also a U.S. decision.

[Reporter] But do you think Chile will recognize the new government?

[Errazuriz] We have not decided anything yet. The only change in the last few days has been Gen. Noriega's surrender to U.S. authorities. We consider this as his personal decision. What is important is that U.S. troops are still in Panama, and they maintain effective control over Panama's sovereignty. We will continue to study the status of our relations with the new Panamanian Government as long as this situation remains unchanged. [end recording]

Regarding the mission to Eastern Europe, Errazuriz said the purpose of the trip is to strengthen relations with East European countries, within the framework of a policy decision that the government made last year. Errazuriz said that Chile might open embassies in some of those countries. The Chilean mission will visit Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and possibly Romania.

Foreign Ministry Group Travels to East Europe

PY0601190290 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1600 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] A Foreign Ministry delegation will travel today to Eastern Europe to resume political and commercial relations between our country and some nations of that bloc. The delegation is composed of Luis Vintner, Foreign Ministry foreign policy director, and Manuel Casanueva, international economic relations director.

The delegation will tour Poland, Hungary, Chechoslovakia, and Romania. This trip is in line with the policy of normalization that has been followed by the Foreign Ministry, establishing ties with all countries in the world that respect our national identity and way of life.

According to Luis Vinter, Chile and East European countries are very interested in resuming relations that

have been interrupted for 16 years. During this visit, meetings are planned with representatives of the economic sector to establish contacts leading to permanent ties.

PCCh's Teitelboim Seeking Legalization of Party

PY0601125390 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 0930 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] After meeting for 1 and ½ hours with President-elect Patricio Aylwin, PCCh [Communist Party of Chile] Secretary General Volodia Teitelboim has told the press that his party will take steps toward legalization before the new government is installed.

Colombia

Drug Traffic Problems, Countermeasures Continue

U.S. Presence Rejected

PA0601142090 Bogota Radio Cadena Nacional in Spanish 1217 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Bogota—Colombia will not accept U.S. Navy and Air Force controls in its territorial waters, it was officially reported by the Presidency of the Republic. The Presidency clearly states that the Colombian Government has not coordinated with the U.S. Government joint actions on our country's coasts to control drug trafficking, adding that it will not accept any proposal in this sense.

$450,000 Reward for Escobar

PA0501195890 Paris AFP in Spanish 1738 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Bogota, 5 Jan (AFP)—The Colombian Government today launched a new offensive to capture drug trafficker Pablo Escobar, considered to be the head of the Medellin Cartel. The authorities have distributed wanted posters, offering a $450,000 reward.

"Do It for Colombia's Security," the wanted posters distributed by troops of the Army's 4th Brigade stated. The 4th Brigade is headquartered in Medellin, 500 km northwest of Bogota.

The wanted posters are being distributed in Medellin, Envigado, Itagui, and other cities in Antioquia Department, the operations center of Escobar and his men. The posters also promise "absolute confidentiality."

"Yesterday it was (Gonzalo) Rodriguez Gacha, now it will be Pablo Escobar," the wanted posters stated. They include a photograph of the suspected chief of the Medellin Cartel when he was a member of the Chamber of Representatives at the beginning of the 1980's.

Everything indicates that it was a tip that helped authorities learn the whereabouts of Rodriguez Gacha, also known as the Mexican, military chief of the Medellin Cartel. After they learned of his whereabouts, a police patrol killed him on 16 December 1989.

Unconfirmed reports indicate that a man who had learned about the drug trafficker's whereabouts informed the police who then staged an operation that led to the death of Rodriguez Gacha in a resort area in Sucre Department, 800 km from Bogota.

The Colombian authorities stated that it "is urgent" that Escobar be located and captured.

"There is no time to lose," the wanted posters stated. They include two telephone numbers of the Medellin military brigade which will receive the information.

'Extraditables' on Official's Son

PA0601225390 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 2003 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Bogota, 6 Jan (DPA) — The "Extraditables," made up of drug-trafficking kingpins sought by U.S. authorities, today threatened to execute the son of the secretary general of the Presidency [German Montoya Velez] if the authorities do not release four mafia members who have been missing for the past few days.

According to a clandestine communique distributed to various media, the mafia will execute stockbroker Diego Montoya Escobar, son of German Montoya Velez, principal adviser of President Virgilio Barco Vargas, if within 7 days four people captured in official operations conducted over the past few days are not released "safe and sound."

Montoya Escobar was abducted on 20 December from an exclusive area of northern Bogota and, according to unofficial reports, has been forced to remain near Pablo Escobar Gaviria, the leader of the Medellin drug cartel, as a "life insurance policy" in the event the drug trafficker is captured.

The mafia message points out that the authorities must answer for the fate of volleyball coach Mario Vasquez, reportedly detained in November, and the fate of three other people captured during raids on various residences on 31 December.

Analysts of the "war" that the Barco government declared on criminal cocaine gangs maintain that the kidnapping of the son of the high-ranking government official is an effort by the mafia to exert pressure so that the two parties sit down at the negotiating table.

A communique issued by the "Extraditables" made public yesterday claims the kidnapping of 17 people, members of wealthy Colombian families, to "finance" the war of these criminal organizations.

Car Bomb Explodes

PA0701035390 Paris AFP in Spanish 0336 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Bogota, 6 Jan (AFP) — A car bomb partially destroyed the offices of the enterprise Probolsa in northern Bogota tonight. The company is directed by Alvaro Diego Montoya, who was recently kidnapped by the drug trafficking mafias, the Colombian police reported to AFP.

The attack, the first one reported in Colombia in 1990, took place at 0245 GMT on Sunday, 7 January, causing injuries to two people and damage to some six buildings.

More on Car Bomb

PA0701141590 Bogota Radio Cadena Nacional in Spanish 1215 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Bogota—Three persons were injured last night when a car bomb exploded and partially destroyed the Probolsa Enterprise building located on Carrera 9 and 79th Street. According to the reports issued by the National Police, the attack occurred at 2100 [0200 GMT] when a taxi, apparently stolen and loaded with approximately 15 kg of dynamite, exploded in front of the Probolsa offices in the northern sector of Bogota. The three injured persons have been identified as: Alexander Munoz, Jaime Alvarez Sanchez, and Miguel Franco, who suffered small cuts from the flying glass. The shock wave also damaged the locale of La Previsora Insurance Company, Las Tapas Restaurant, and tens of homes within a 5-block radius. Likewise, the police told Radio Cadena Nacional that two youths who were in the car-bomb acted as though they were having car trouble and abandoned the vehicle in front of the Probolsa building. They then got into another car and headed in an unkown direction. The police and other security organizations have launched a search throughout Bogota to find those responsible for this new terrorist action.

Minister Declares War on ELN Guerrillas

PA0501151890 Bogota Radio Cadena Nacional in Spanish 1200 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Bogota—Government Minister Carlos Lemos Simmonds on 4 January declared an all-out war against the Army of National Liberation [ELN], stating that the group has gone from subversive actions to common crime. Referring to ELN actions against a bus and a police patrol, he said the actions were monstrous and will be fought, as is the case with other types of crimes.

I do not understand how a group led by foreigners dares to attack the country's resources, the minister added.

Minister Carlos Lemos Simmonds said: I do not even describe this group as a guerrilla organization because its members have gone from a political struggle to common crime.

The ELN today carried out the year's first attack on the oil pipeline in Norte de Santander Department.

Guerrillas Launch Attacks

PA0601022590 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0015 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Following the New Year festivities, the Army of National Liberation [ELN] has returned to its guerrilla activities with greater violence than last year. The subversive group has launched several attacks over the entire country in the last few hours.

The ELN, led by the former guerrilla priest Manuel Perez, started the year by killing 15 people and wounding 3 others, including common citizens, peasants, and soldiers.

Three people were killed and 22 others were burned when a bus was set on fire in Cali on 3 January.

Earlier today, the ELN occupied El Carmen hamlet, Bolivar Municipality, in Cauca Department, and shot three peasants to death on the main plaza because they belonged to Community Action [Accion Comunal]. They also shot and killed the department's police inspector, Tomas Caicedo.

In Cesar Department, in a place located between El Copey and Bosconia municipalities, in a place known as La Ley de Dios, 40 ELN guerrillas ambushed a military patrol. Two soldiers were wounded and another was killed. Minutes later, some 100 vehicles were attacked.

Fifty more ELN guerrillas raided the town of Barranco de Loba, Bolivar Department. They destroyed communications equipment and kidnapped merchant Gustavo Jaramillo.

In Norte de Santander, a police patrol clashed with an ELN group in the area between Cucuta and Puerto Santander. A guerrilla was killed and a policeman wounded.

Oil pumping operations through the Cano Limon-Covenas pipeline continue normally despite the dynamite attack perpetrated today by the ELN in an area known as La Cuchilla, Toledo Municipality, near the Venezuelan border. The ELN has threatened to continue blowing up the oil pipeline. Up to now, this action has resulted in $480 million in losses for the country.

Attack Oil Pipeline

PA0501145490 Bogota Radio Cadena Nacional in Spanish 1200 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Bucaramanga—Guerrillas of the so-called Army of National Liberation [ELN] in the last few hours staged the year's first dynamite attack on the Cano Limon - Covenas oil pipeline in the area on the border between Santander and Norte de Santander Departments. The attack occurred at the pipeline's kilometer 170 near La Cuchilla, Toledo municipality.

The information obtained by this station indicates that despite the explosion of the dynamite, the fuel was not set on fire and there was only damage to the pipeline, which will be repaired in the next few hours.

Through two employees of the Aeromensajeria Company, who had been kidnapped by the ELN, the guerrilla group sent a message announcing the resumption of dynamite attacks on oil pipelines. ECOPETROL [Colombian Petroleum Enterprise] technicians are currently making the necessary repairs while troops of the Army's 2d Division are conducting operations to find the subversives. The losses from this new violent action have yet to be estimated.

Suspected in Killings

PA0601215590 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1933 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Bogota—It has been officially reported that Abrego Mayor Carlos Torrado, his son, and two other people were killed today when the vehicle in which they were traveling was blown up. Authorities attribute this action to the guerrillas of the Army of National Liberation (ELN).

According to initial reports, Torrado, a member of the opposition Social Conservative Party (PSC), was traveling with his son, Gustavo Torrado, a candidate for mayor of Abrego, his secretary, and a driver when a powerful dynamite bomb was set off as they crossed a bridge.

The action by the ELN, which began this year with bloody armed actions in various areas of the country, occurred in a rural area of Abrego, 360 km northeast of Bogota, in Norte de Santander Department.

Meanwhile, official spokesmen reported that Ricardo Castellar, mayor of Achi, was kidnapped on 5 January by suspected ELN members.

It was reported that the mayor was attending a meeting of local community leaders in Bolivar Department when he was seized by heavily armed men who took him with them.

Leftist Presidential Candidate Visits Cuba

PA0701183790 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0656 GMT 05 Jan 89

[Text] Havana, 4 Jan (EFE)—Colombian presidential candidate Bernardo Jaramillo issued an appeal in this capital today to Latin American democratic and progressive forces urging them to demand that Colombian President Virgilio Barco give "true guarantees" for the electoral process.

Jaramillo, representive of the leftist political force "Patriotic Union", assured that "political achievements will not be relinquished despite official and paramilitary violence, the lack of guarantees, and the difficult situation that prevails in the region due to the boldness of U.S. imperialism."

On the other hand, I think that the United States' desire to openly intervene in the armed conflict that prevails in the country and to pull the strings in the counterinsurgency policy is behind the plan to guard Colombia's waterways and coasts—reportedly to prevent drug trafficking. Jaramillo, who is visiting Cuba to report on the political situation in his country, said in a news conference that the invasion of Panama, the attempted aggression against Colombia, and the threats of similar actions against Peru and Bolivia, with the same pretext, "are not isolated phenomena, but part of an overall imperialist plan that will guarantee to the United States absolute control of the destiny of the Latin American countries."

In his opinion, it is a question of creating the possibility for a quick and direct U.S. political and military intervention in the region whenever it is considered convenient, and of "convincing the people that the powerful northern neighbor cannot be defeated, and that we all have to get on our knees and humbly obey its orders ."

The Colombian leftist leader said that the reply to this "arrogant" attitude must be the unity of the Latin American nations.

Paraguay

Rodriguez Trips to Brazil, Chile Confirmed

PY0601134990 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 6 Jan 90 p 10

[Excerpt] It has been officially confirmed that the chief of state will visit Brasilia to participate in the inaugural ceremonies for President-elect Fernando Collor de Mello, who will succeed Jose Sarney. These ceremonies will take place in March 1990. In that same month Rodriguez will visit Santiago to participate in the inaugural ceremonies for Chilean President-elect Patricio Aylwin, who will succeed General Augusto Pinochet.

On 5 January the president's Information and Culture Undersecretariat confirmed the presidential trips and also recalled that Rodriguez will visit Montevideo on 24 March. [passage omitted]

Minister on Aims of Government's Foreign Policy

PY0601213090 Asuncion HOY in Spanish 6 Jan pp 16, 17

[Text] "There is no prohibition or restriction on trade with communist countries. All Paraguayan businessmen may do so if they want, and there is no need for a Paraguayan Government agency to be opened in any of those countries," Foreign Minister Luis Maria Argana answered when asked whether it is appropriate to establish formal contacts with the Soviet Union.

"However, in the field of foreign affairs I think that it is untimely to refer to the opening of broad and frank relations with these countries. Although it is true that we tacitly maintain relations with Yugoslavia, they have a tradition of more than 60 years."

Regarding the possibility of opening trade missions in communist countries, Argana said: "We could open them eventually." He explained, however, that President Andres Rodriguez himself is responsible for our foreign relations. "I have yet not had time to discuss the subject with him," Argana said.

It must be pointed out that the foreign minister is favorably disposed to improving trade relations with communist countries as long as such relations are economically advantageous and beneficial to Paraguay, since it is necessary to obtain new markets for our local production.

Changing the subject, Minister Argana also referred to the foreign policy implemented by the administration of General Andres Rodriguez.

"Following the 3 February coup, the main concern of this Foreign Ministry was to evaluate the precise scope of our international policy, to define its spirit, and above all, to dispel old prejudices and clarify concepts."

"Thus, the current administration's foreign policy has abandoned the archaic criteria that governed the actions of the former administration. The current administration has thus abandoned the unilateral precept of resorting to a single country of this continent and has set aside our own self-imposed restrictions which were limited to timid foreign or economic guidelines. We have replaced these precepts with a broad continental spirit since we understand the need to maintain and strengthen the ties of friendship with all the countries of the continent.

"Of course the latter mainly refers to our neighbors and is not one-dimensional, since we seek to develop all aspects of our country."

Argana defined the current Paraguayan diplomacy as broad and multifaceted. "The fact that our country is seeking to broaden its diplomatic horizons and to improve its friendship ties with several countries does not mean that it will abandon its traditional friends."

We are not promoting a policy of insufficiency but a policy of integration, according to each country's personality and identity and with a view toward harmonizing our efforts," Argana said. [quotation marks as published]

The foreign minister also remarked that this must not be understood as if each country were relinquishing its sovereignty; on the contrary, the changes that are taking place in the world today demonstrate that unity among countries is increasingly necessary so that, through joint efforts in a region, each country's capacity may increase.

GDP Increases by 6 Percent During 1989

PY0501132890 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 5 Jan 90 p 10

[Excerpt] At the conclusion of a meeting of the council of ministers at Government House on 4 January, Finance Minister Enzo Debernardi stated that the GDP grew by 6 percent during 1989. The meeting was presided over by President Andres Rodriguez, and the topic of salaries was not discussed. [passage omitted]

Colombians, Argentines Implicated in Plane Theft

PY0601121990 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 5 Jan 89 pp 56, 57

[Excerpt] Five Colombian citizens and two Argentines, including a woman, have been identified as the individuals allegedly responsible for the theft of a LATN [National Air Transport Company] plane in the Chaco region on 3 January. The Argentine woman was working in a hotel and her accomplices entered the country as tourists in August. According to their hotel registration forms, some of them are veterinarians and others are tour guides.

According to a report on the stolen two-engine LATN Cessna released during a news conference at the Investigative Police Department this morning, it is not known if the plane was insured.

The individuals who participated in the theft were identified as Colombian citizens Juan Jose Gill, 33, Jorge Quevedo Paredes, Juan Carlos Marin, Alberto Echeverry, and Alvaro Humberto Basto Mancera, and Argentine citizens Miguel Angel Anzevino and Silvana Alejandra Novillo, 24. [passage omitted]

Peru

Drug Summit, Panama, U.S. Relations Viewed

Garcia on Summit, Noriega

PY0701233990 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2141 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Lima, 7 Jan (EFE)—Peruvian President Alan Garcia today hinted at the possibility of attending the drug "summit" with his Bolivian, Colombian, and U.S. counterparts, which he had dismissed when U.S. troops invaded Panama.

The "summit" meeting of Jaime Paz Zamora (Bolivia), Virgilio Barco (Colombia), and Alan Garcia with U.S. President George Bush was arranged by the three Andean countries during the meeting in Ica, Peru, preceding the talks in the same town among the Group of Eight presidents. It was later agreed that the meeting would be held in mid-February in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia.

During a news conference after meeting with Chamber of Deputies President Luis Alvarado in Congress, President Garcia said that he may attend the meeting if by then "our Latin American sovereign will has been satisfied."

Alan Garcia said: "I can clearly distinguish the various issues; I am mature and pragmatic enough to distinguish continental sovereignty, which we defend wholeheartedly with Latin American pride, from the need to work united, with whomever it may be, against drug trafficking."

Of all the Latin American leaders, the Peruvian president adopted the most radical attitude toward the U.S. invasion of Panama on 20 December. Garcia withdrew his ambassador to the United States immediately after the invasion and said that he would only return when the troops had fully withdrawn from Panamanian territory.

Garcia also announced that he would not attend the drug "summit" because he could not sit at a table in his capacity as the main representative of a Latin American country with a colleague that had ordered the invasion of a brother country; he did not, however, rule out the possibility of a Peruvian representative attending the presidential meeting.

Today Garcia repeated this last remark, saying that Peru could be represented at the summit and that he, in his capacity as president, would endorse whatever decision is reached regarding the struggle against drug trafficking. He added that "if by then our Latin American sovereign will has been settled and satisfied, we may participate in the summit."

Alan Garcia reiterated that he hoped the U.S. troops would leave Panamanian territory "as soon as possible" because, in the meantime, Peru and the United States cannot maintain "the normal, cordial relationship we have sought through our financial negotiations and our proposal for the meeting in Cartagena." The Peruvian president stated that "as long as the U.S. troops remain in Panama, there cannot be a meeting nor a normal relationship."

Relative to the 3 January surrender of Panamanian General Manuel Antonio Noriega, he said that the drug trafficking problem "is much more serious" and that its magnitude cannot be ignored by searching for a "scapegoat."

Garcia said that it was quite likely that the former chief of the Panama Defense Forces was guilty of crimes in Panama or of laundering money generated by drug trafficking, but that it is not a question of searching for a "scapegoat." He added that Noriega's alleged crimes "must not make us forget" that drug trafficking is a much more serious problem and that there are hundreds of millions of consumers in the wealthy countries whose governments have done "nothing outstanding" during the past decades to stop it.

Alan Garcia said that it is not a question of turning the situation regarding Panama's former strongman into a "circus" and ridiculing him. Garcia said: "It is easy to kick a man when he is down. Its very easy to attack a man when he no longer has any resources, when he no longer has power. This does not mean that I will stick up for someone who is probably guilty of crimes. However, human dignity should be respected, because no matter what crime he may have committed, he is still a human being."

Garcia May Attend Summit

PY0701022890 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0000 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Presidential Minister Rodolfo Beltran hinted today that President Alan Garcia may attend the February drug summit in Colombia. He made this comment before leaving for Italy where he will carry out official activities linked to expediting the process to get the $340-million credit the Italian Government granted to Peru. He will also negotiate the shipment of 32 cars for the electric train. He said:

[Begin recording] [Beltran] This trip is related to technical and economic cooperation between Peru and Italy. I am making this trip with representatives of the National Planning Institute and the National Development Institute to discuss cooperation between the two countries.

Another purpose of my trip is to negotiate the offer made by two Italian regions to cooperate with two of the new Peruvian regions.

[Reporter] Which regions?

[Beltran] The first two new regions to get Italian cooperation, which will later be extended to the other five regions, are the Grau and the Ucayali Regions. The two Italian regions which offered to cooperate are the Lazio region of Rome and the Firenze Region.

[Reporter] Will these regions make any contribution?

[Beltran] Yes, the Italian regionalization process is already 20 years old. This is why the Peruvian regionalization process that started on 1 January 1990 has an historic meaning. The Italian experience of decentralization is 20 years old. Italy has 20 regions of which 15 are normal regions and 5 are special regions because they are in border areas. Therefore, there is great experience with local governmnents, and this experience will be transferred through conferences and technicians. There are plans for financial assistance in the near future. The idea of having sister regions among nations is a new concept. [end recording]

Commentary Blasts Garcia on Panama

PY0601133690 Lima EXPRESO in Spanish
26 Jan 90 p 2

[Manuel Dornellas commentary: "Worse Than Before"]

[Text] Noriega's downfall and the installation of Guillermo Endara—with U.S. military aid—as the president of Panama by virtue of last May's elections will mean greater isolation for our country on the American continent.

Not only have our relations with the United States deteriorated—proof of this is the return to Lima of Peruvian Ambassador in Washington Cesar Atala and Peru's withdrawal from the TIAR [Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty]—but President Alan Garcia's decision not to attend the Cartagena summit with President Bush will estrange Peru from Colombia and Bolivia, whose presidents will attend the summit, leaving Garcia by himself.

The degree of deterioration in our relations with the new Panamanian Government is extreme. Peruvian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Guillermo Larco Cox labeled President Endara the "Judas of Central America" and President Garcia hoisted the Panamanian flag at Peru's Government House to express solidarity with the then-missing dictator Noriega.

The new Panamanian president will obviously not easily forget this personal offense inflicted by the Peruvian foreign minister, nor will he forget the words and actions of the Peruvian president. He will make us pay for it, and dearly.

One must not forget that all Peruvian foreign trade with Europe and the east coast of the United States passes through the Panama Canal, which, according to the Torrijos-Carter treaty, will be under Panamanian administration this year.

In other words, Peru needs Panama more than Panama needs Peru. This fact demanded the vision of a statesman from our president, as well as diplomatic prudence. Such qualifications were remarkably absent. The Alanist foreign policy, with its unwise ideological leaning, gives more importance to relations with distant satrapies like North Korea than to relations with American countries with important geo-economic positions like Panama.

This is a result of the anti-Yankee rhetoric contest to which the APRA [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance] party government has unrestrictedly dedicated itself and which has been echoed by the officialist press and by APRA and Marxist legislators.

Meanwhile, the Peruvian public remembers the friendly relations between our president and the man whom he despisedly refers to today as a "tropical dictator" and whom he decorated only 3 years ago with one of Peru's major national medals, an honor that could hardly be considered a "piece of metal."

Who was all of this done for? Certainly not for the Panamanian people, who are relieved to be celebrating the downfall of the tyrant that Latin America abandoned them to.

Editorial Criticizes U.S. Action

PY0501230490 Lima LA REPUBLICA in Spanish
21 Dec 89 p 20

[Editorial: "Panama: The Beating is Back"]

[Text] The invasion of Panama by U.S. forces coming from the military bases that the imperialistic power maintains in the Panama Canal Zone is an unforgivable act that violates the current international laws and the principle that each sovereign state has the right to decide its own destiny without tutelage or interference from any other government, not even the strongest one on earth.

What has been occurring in Panama can only provoke absolute indignation and repulsion in all Latin American democratic governments. It takes inter-American relations back to times already considered past, and it reveals the Bush Administration's absolute contempt for the most elemental principles of international law.

A nation that invades another nation, and dares to call an aggressive operation that is causing the death of thousands of people a "just cause," must be admonished. We wonder, however, whether the United States will listen to our reprimand, because the history of its relations with Latin America is plagued with events similar to this.

Referring only to the most recent events of our American history, we do not see any difference between the U.S. invasion of Santo Domingo in 1965, or the invasion of Grenada—which was ordered by Mr. Reagan—and this one, which shows the Bush Administration's real face, without any mask. It shows the ferocious face of aggression and of the violation of all rights.

This is the resultof the dispute between Noriega's dictatorship and the troops that are stationed at the Canal Zone that increased tension in Panama to explosive extremes. Since the Panamanian "strong man" had caused himself to be named to the nonexistent position of "chief of government," institutionalizng the irregular characteristics of his administration, and the United States answered by of again flying in l0,000 men and sophisticated air power from bases near Atlanta,, the two opponents had been face to face.

The death of a U.S. officer in confusing circumstances, which was followed by the death of a Panamanian officer in an action that looked like retaliation, led to the invasion. The U.S. decision to invade Panama shows a radical change in Washington's position, which, until now, had been to resort only to diplomatic and economic

sanctions against Panama. The language Washington is using now is that of weapons.

What is happening now in Panama must provoke the most passionate joint reaction of the Latin American community. Latin America should not hesitate in employing all methods possible to stop this retrogression to big stick and gunboat diplomacy, which the United States has also tried to adopt to solve the Central American conflict. The Latin American countries must also not recognize the puppet regime presided over by Mr Guillermo Endara, who demonstrated unforgivable blindness to history by allowing himself to be installed as president by the bayonets of the occupation troops.

We have written several editorials criticizing General Noriega and of his insistence on imposing himself despite the elections in which the Panamanian people chose a different president. The U.S. invasion, however, changes the noisy general into the commander of a patriotic army that is defending the fatherland, which has been invaded by foreign troops.

Washington's action accomplished exactly the opposite of what it intended: It legitimized Noriega and his charges that the United States was violating the Torrijos-Carter treaty, which provides for U.S. troops to be withdrawn from the base in the Canal Zone and for that zone to be turned over to Panama in 1999.

Washington's traditional short sightedness regarding Latin American issues could have prompted President Bush to believe that his attempt to impose a foreign solution to the Panamanian crisis would be accepted. The U.S. decision to turn the LIC (Low Intensity Conflict) [preceding words in English] it maintained in Panama into an open conflict shows the same disdain that, for centuries, has driven the imperialist power to treat the hemisphere as if it were its backyard.

We still believe that the best proposal for the problem is the one made by President Alan Garcia, who suggested an early withdrawal of the U.S. troops and an early turning over of the canal in exchange for Noriega's exit and the holding of democratic elections. This proposal, however, was officially dismissed by Mr. Bush's government and the latest developments make it no longer feasible.

A chance for a peaceful solution was thwarted by the developments. The main objectives now are to resort to all the mechanisms of international law to get the invading troops to withdraw from the occupied territory and to gradually normalize the situation of peoples' lives and assets in Panama.

We support the Peruvian Government's decision to withdraw our ambassador in Washington, and we back the summit of the foreign ministers of the Group of Eight to be held in Bogota at President Barco's request. The UN Security Council and the OAS General Assembly must also be summoned to condemn the unjustified U.S. invasion of Panama.

We believe that all the political, institutional, and democratic forces of Peru must unite to publicly repudiate this attack, this atrocity. To demand that the United States withdraw from Panama and end its intervention in this brother country is to uphold the right of the Latin American countries to live without threats and coercion. It was Panama's turn this time, but—if this behavior is tolerated—it could be any other country of the continent tomorrow.

Editorial Faults Latin America

PY0601000690 Lima EXPRESSO in Spanish 23 Dec 89 p 24

[Text] The U.S. invasion of Panama suited President Alan Garcia quite well. The incident in Panama was just what he needed after the country was forced to accept the IMF—the most important flag bearer of imperialism. Panama was a chance for Garcia to retore his anti-imperialist identity, which was beginning to fade due to his failures and international political changes.

The incident also suited the United Left. It was like a refreshing dive into the fundamental, just, and adolescent waters of young university anti-imperialism. We must admit, however, that all those 40-year-old leaders burning a U.S. flag on Wilson Avenue looked rather pathetic. But something was needed to fill the ideological vacuum, and this was the perfect occasion.

EXPRESO rejects the U.S. invasion of Panama because it is an offensive, arrogant, excessive, and clumsy operation. It brings to memory the old image of the U.S. big stick—used to protect U.S. enterprises in Central America—and carries the danger of turning Noriega from drug trafficker and dictator into the hero of a national resistance against the invaders.

But in our opinion, it is not the principle of nonintervention that has been violated. A legitimate ruler who is elected by a large majority of his people, as Guillermo Endara was, has the right to request foreign help to overthrow the tyrant oppressing his country and recover democracy.

The principle of nonintervention is based on the principle of self-determination. In this case the Panamanian people decided to elect Endara and oust Noriega. Endara then had the right to request the help of foreign military forces to fulfill his people's will.

A very important conclusion can be drawn from this case: The principle of nonintervention is only valid and applicable in the case of democracies, because only a democracy can prove the government represents the free self-determination of its people. The principle is even less applicable in the case of dictatorships associated with international crimes, such as drug trafficking, that affect other peoples. The Latin American democracies should agree, if only to guarantee their survival, that it would be right to intervene, for instance, if one of our countries falls into the hands of drug traffickers.

The problem is that Latin American democracies, which are still new and hesitant, were not capable of assuming the responsibility for applying enough pressure on Noriega to turn over the presidency to the winner of the May 1989 election. Neither did the OAS or the Group of Eight do enough in terms of economic sanctions, elimination of flights, or international isolation.

That is why the regrettable U.S. invasion is to a certain extent Latin American's fault. We gave away part of our sovereignty. We left the solution of a very serious Latin American problem in the hands of the United States.

That is also why those who take political advantage of the situation to lift their anti-imperialist howls should ask themselves why we left that political issue—the solution of the Panamanian problem—to that power.

It is not too late, however. We can still jointly demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops and mount immediately afterwards an overall Latin American program to support the legitimately elected government of Guillermo Endara.

Reportage on Recent Terrorist Acts; Measures

Interior Ministry Communique

PY0601025490 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0000 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] A communique released by the Interior Ministry stated that the terrorists who were arrested have been identified as (Luis Huamanigo Arcaia), (Timoteo Huamanigo Arcaia), (Santos Acacio Rodriguez), Gladys Quinto Palacio, Yolanda Quinto Palacio, (Fernandini Lozano Villa), and (Pilar Corchicalle].

Those subversive criminals, who carried out terrorist activities in Ayacucho, had attacked Ayacucho Mayor Fermin Asparren; Ayacucho University Professor (Hugo Luna Vallon) and his daughter (Ivon Luna Molero); Olga Cespedes de Guzman and Victoria Guzman Aparco, the wife and sister of the former president of the Ayacucho's Provincial Electoral Court; Captain (Ervis Vicente Reyes); Lieutenant Wilfredo Ramirez Manrique, and Sergeant Manuel Perez Escolastico.

The detainees also attacked public buildings and police stations of Ayacucho.

Shining Path Infiltration Reported

PY0601161590 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0155 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Lima, 5 Jan (EFE)—Interior Minister Agustin Mantilla reported today in Lima that the Shining Path terrorist group has been able to penetrate public and private organizations. He stated that police are investigating these activities and that it is hoped that the attempts to infiltrate areas that could cause "serious problems" for the country can be stopped.

Mantilla reported in a news conference that National Police in Ayacucho on 2 January captured an important Shining Path cell that had carried out a dozen crimes and numerous bomb attacks in that Andean province, 756 km southeast of Lima.

He stated that the arrested persons have confessed to their participation in the deaths of the city's mayor, Fermin Azparrent; the wife and sister of the former president of the Provincial Electoral Court; three officers of the National Police; and that of an Ayacucho University professor, among others.

The captured cell is made up of four women, leaders of the group, and three men. All of them come from the Ayacucho highlands, the birthplace of the Shining Path, a Maoist group that started its armed struggle in 1980. According to the official report, terrorism has caused at least 17,500 deaths and damages worth $16 billion, which is equivalent to 75 percent of Peru's foreign debt.

Eight Policemen Missing

PY0601021690 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 1845 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Lima, 5 Jan (AFP)—Peruvian authorities reported today that the eight Peruvian police who jumped into the Huallaga River after their truck was ambushed by a column of terrorists have disappeared. The attack occurred in La Cascana village near Huanuco, 420 km northeast of Lima.

The sources said that on 4 January the 8 policemen, who were members of a 15-man patrol, were returning to Huanuco from the Jatun Rumi zone. A microwave ground station of ENTELPERU [National Telecommunications Enterprise of Peru] is located in this area.

The seven policemen who escaped have reported that a bomb planted by terrorists on the road exploded between the first and the second vehicles, while armed groups attacked with grenades and submachine guns.

The unexpected attack, the policemen said, created confusion and compelled the eight patrolmen to jump into the river that runs along the road. They added that as soon as the policemen abandoned the vehicles the terrorist dynamited them. They said that the terrorists captured weapons, ammunition, and other items.

The police command sent troops to search for the missing policemen and the terrorists, who probably disappeared into the dense jungle.

Terrorists Kill 29

PY0601014290 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0304 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Ayacucho (Peru), 4 Jan (EFE)—Eyewitnesses reported here today that Shining Path terrorists have killed at least 29 peasants who were said to be members of the progovernment civilian militias that operate in the Apurimac River valley in the Andes.

The murders occurred almost simultaneously on 2 January in the townships of (Luciana), (Pichihuilca), (Palmapampa), (Monterrico), and (Yacuo) on both sides of the Apurimac River [word indistinct] the Ayacucho and Cuzco Departments.

The "peasant defense patrols" (civilian militias for antiterrorist defense), which are considered the best organized and most active Peruvian groups, are operating in this region. Less than one month ago, President Alan Garcia provided them with 200 shotguns for their self defense.

That fact led Shining Path terrorists to carry out several attacks—apparently in retaliation—on rural townships of the region. During these attacks they killed at least 120 peasants, including men, women, and children.

The military authorities who have political and military control in Ayacucho, which is in a state of emergency, declined to provide any official information on the incidents. It has been learned, however, that marines stationed in the Apurimac River Valley are searching for Shining Path terrorists.

Ayacucho police have reported the arrest of seven top Shining Path terrorist leaders who killed several people in an attempt to boycott the 15 November municipal elections.

The municipal elections were canceled in Ayacucho because almost 45 percent of the people abstained from casting their votes, despite the fact that it was compulsory, and because 70 percent of the votes cast were incorrectly marked.

Barrantes Opens Campaign, Clarifies Group's Name

PY0601134290 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 1700 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Presidential candidate Alfonso Barrantes explained today that the political organization he represents is called the Socialist Left [Izquierda Socialista] and not the Movement of the Socialist Left, as has been published in some local dailies.

Barrantes also reported that he will travel to the northern part of the country today to begin his political campaign. He added that he will head a rally in Trujillo tomorrow and another in Cajamarca, his hometown, on Sunday.

Government Addresses Economic Issues

Garcia On Regional Economy

PY0501144290 Lima Television Peruana Peruana in Spanish 0000 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Interview with President Alan Garcia by unidentified reporters—date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr President, what can you say about the 1989 accumulated inflation rate?

[Garcia] It is high. This 2,700-percent inflation rate is the highest we have endured in the last few years, but it is well known that this was a year of contracted economic situation and of economic measures aimed at correcting our economy. We knew from the beginning that this year's inflation would be high. First, we knew that the inflation rate would be high this year. Second, we want the people to realize that we are in a state of war, that our country has been fighting subversion and terrorism, and that this has a high economic price. Our economic situation is not normal. Peruvians know how much it costs to fight subversion and terrorism in weapons, in mobilization, and in the lack of investment. It is fundamental that we realize that. It is unfair, however, to say that this is the world's or Latin America's highest inflation rate. This is not true. All Latin American countries are facing extremely serious economic problems that are created by the international community. Argentina has endured an inflation rate of more than 5,000 percent and Brazil has endured an inflation rate of more than 2,000 percent, although they are 10 times wealthier than Peru and do not have subversive violence. Third, I want to remind you of something else: the serious economic crisis started during my third year in office. For 3 years, we developed fast and remained ahead of the economic crisis. It is well-known that in some Latin American countries the economic crisis has destroyed the administration only a few months after being installed. Therefore, I believe that we must accept this 2,700 percent inflation rate with serenity.

The important fact is that, since 1 July 1989, the monthly inflation rate has stood at 23 or 24 percent, and the accumulated inflation rate until December stood at slightly over 400 percent. If we manage to maintain the inflation rate at this level, the accumulated inflation rate in the last 12 months of my administration will hardly surpass 1,000 percent. This is not low, but it is lower than the 2,700 percent we have had this year, which was a result of the economic readjustments that we had to implement at the end of 1988, and of the economic hardships that we had to face in 1989.

I would like to point out, however, the important fact that the country maintain its economic growth. In November and December 1989, we grew more than in November and December 1988. If we succeed in maintaining this growth and in reducing the inflation rate—not just by 50 percent a year but to an accumulated 1,000 percent in the last 12 months of my administration—and if we succeed in doing all that while maintaining our national economic growth, we will hand over a better country to the next administration.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Garcia] I believe that this is too optimistic. Let us take the Argentine example: the inflationary process in Argentina became uncontrollable. In June 1989, the inflation rate was 76 percent. The new government then decided to implement a shock [preceding word in English], and the inflation rate in July reached 200

percent. They believed that this package would solve the problems. The problems were not solved because these economic packages, these orthodox shocks, function for only 1 or 2 months during which they reduce extremely high levels of inflation to 35, or to 9 percent [as heard]. Now the inflation rate in Argentina is again 50 percent. Therefore, we must have prudence and serenity to deal with inflation. Above all, we must realize that inflation is not the worst problem. There are worse problems than inflation. If solving the inflation problem means reducing Peruvian production to half, the medicine will be worse than the illness. If solving the inflation problem means reducing salaries to one third of what they are now, the medicine will again be worse than the illness.

We must try to stabilize the economy so that the new administration, which will have a new democratic authority, can see the inflation rate go down automatically as a result of the confidence that society will have in it. An administration which is about to leave office always experiences a certain uncertainty, and the people fear the changes that are about to occur. I, therefore, believe that we should not be too optimistic nor expect too much. We must observe the example of other countries that have tried dramatic corrections and learn not to expect too much from solutions that have been proven impossible.

Economy Minister on Prospects

PY0601181590 Lima Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Economy and Finance Minister Cesar Vasques Bazan has made an assessment of the national economic situation and commented on prospects for 1990. He asked businessmen to be understanding and to keep prices moderate. Vasques Bazan also said that the recession has been overcome, that the country has been growing, and that the economy will be stabilized this year:

[Begin Vasques Bazan recording] I will begin by stating that Peru's situation in September 1988 was very difficult. The country had practically no reserves left, no foreign currency. As a result, the government had to implement an economic readjustment program. This program's main objective was to recover foreign reserves so that the country could export, so that the country could produce. This is what we did. In September 1988 we began implementing a process of economic correction and readjustment that, in a very short time, allowed the country to increase its reserves. In September 1988, Peru had $258 million in negative reserves. A new economic program had to be implemented, and this is what we did. This program consisted of measures such as the devaluation of the inti, an increase in the price of public utilities, and an increase in interest rates, among others. Some of these measures were difficult for the people, but they were necessary, I repeat, to help Peru recover its reserves. In December 1989, 1 and ½ years later, the objective had been attained. On 15 December 1989, our last official statistics indicate that the banking system's net international reserves totaled almost $717 million. The readjustment program resulting in Peru gaining $1,034,000,000.

The 1989 inflation rate has been high, as you well know; it reached 2,775 percent. The average monthly inflation in 1989 was 32 percent. I would like to divide 1989 into two periods. From January to April, when the readjustment program was more strict, the average monthly inflation stood at 45 percent a month. The average monthly inflation rate from May to December was 26 percent. If the average monthly inflation rate had been 26 percent throughout the year, the 1989 inflation rate would have been 1,500 percent. It is true that this would also have been a high rate of inflation, but not as much as the 2,775 percent.

It has been said that this inflation rate shows that the economic policy was a failure; this is not true. This rate is the price of correcting our economy. It is the price of the economic readjustment that all of us Peruvians have had to put up with to recover the reserves that belong to all of us.

As the economy minister, I must call on all businessmen to help us. The businessmen must make profits and fulfill the duty of [word indistinct] of economy and reinvest, pay their taxes, and be austere. At the beginning of this new year, however, I am asking the businessmen to control price increases themselves. They can control the prices of the basic goods they sell so that the increases do not surpass the previous month's inflation rate. If certain sectors contribute a little, we will be able to reduce inflation in 1990. I insist that we need the businessmen's support. We have adopted new export measures to support the businessmen. Now we need, the country needs, their contributions. The worst crisis is over, recession has been overcome, and Peru has resumed its growth.

As the following chart will show you, there is other data proving that this economic recovery is real. I can also say that the government—the president, the council of ministers, and of all of us who work for the executive branch—is concerned with ensuring the recovery of purchasing power in 1990. The time for readjusting our economy is over. We must now reactivate and reinvigorate our economy.

Through July 1990, we will establish a clear salary policy that can be summarized as follows: First, we can tell the public employees who are members of the sector most affected by the readjustment that they will recover the purchasing power of their salaries. We will continue to pay their due salaries, as we started to do in July 1989. We can assure this sector, which has been so badly affected by the readjustment, that their salaries will be increased above the inflation rate in 1990. There are public employees who have been working for many, many years and have done a great deal for the welfare of

the country. The country should therefore recognize their efforts by granting them better salaries.

The government is especially concerned about the private sector minimum wage. Special attention will be given to the minimum wage, which must preserve the purchasing power it had in December 1989—undoubtedly a little higher than the level it was at during the months in which the readjustment was being implemented—while at the same time trying to gradually increase purchasing power.

The policy for nonunion workers' salaries (?will continue to be the same).

As for union workers, we will do our best to make the readjustments, which will be made every 3 months, improve the purchasing power of this sector's salaries. [end recording]

Fish Accord Helps Poor

PY0601141290 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0000 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Fisheries Minister Juan Revasa Carpio has said that the fish obtained from the Soviet fishing fleet's quota, which has been increased to 5,000 tons, will be used to supply food to the poorest sectors of Peruvian society.

[Begin recording] [Revasa] We have evaluated the accord and made some modifications in Peru's favor. As of January we will receive 5,000 tons of whole fish instead of the previous 3,000 tons.

We are also exchanging the fish oil and fish meal for 1,300 tons of whole fish. The Flopesca company is supplying us with 2,600 tons of fish that it previously exported. This fish is being used for direct consumption in the country. The (Copez) company is doing the same. This will enable us to reach this year's goal of giving each Peruvian the opportunity to consume 20 kilos of fish, as established by the government. We have reached 26 kilos per person. [sentence as heard]

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] the enforcement of these contracts?

[Revasa] So far, they are favorable. We are working hard to get Peru its own fleet to enable us to work on our own. Meanwhile, however, we need this accord, which is already bearing fruit, as you can see. If done properly, we will reach the most needed people and places, such as this penitentiary [not further identified], hospitals, or police centers. I believe that we are carrying out a social task as well as making an economic profit. Although the economic aspect of the program is not the main objective, it is benefiting the country. Our goal is to become independent of state subsidies. As I have said, a group of private fishing companies are supplying us with fish that we are distributing directly to the poorest sectors of society. [end recording]

President Signs Law Creating New University

PY0701015490 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0000 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Today President Alan Garcia signed two important laws creating the private (Marcelino Champena) University and granting a real estate to the (Lescay) Club of Huancavelica.

Garcia indicated that the two laws embody cultural and human values. He added that (Champana) University was created exclusively for education and to fulfill the goals of the Marian congregation. [passage omitted]

Venezuela

Noriega's Surrender Termed 'Unexpected,' 'Sad'

PA0501164090 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1312 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Caracas, 5 Jan (DPA)—The leadership of Venezuela's main opposition party, COPEI [Social Christian Party], has described the surrender of Panama's strongman Manuel Antonio Noriega to the United States as "unexpected" and "sad."

Former President Rafael Caldera said the action was "very surprising" because Noriega's decision was "unexpected," but "undoubtedly" it is a great "relief" for the Panamanian people.

He stressed that everything which contributes to the normalization and recovery of a people's self-determination "must be supported by Venezuela."

Meanwhile, Eduardo Fernandez, former presidential candidate and current COPEI secretary general, said that the ideal thing would have been to try Noriega in Panama. Fernandez added that with Noriega's "voluntary surrender," he "sadly ended what was badly begun."

He stressed that the entire episode experienced by Panama has been "very unfortunate" and that it had its origins in an "abominable dictatorship" and in a "totally condemnable" unilateral intervention by the United States, which shows the "failure" of the collective inter-American system in solving the hemisphere's problems.